Daily Report

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GDR Calls for Early Agreement at Vienna Talks

AU2006121989 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 16 Jun 89 p 5

[ADN report: "Vienna Talks: GDR Expects Early and Substantive Agreements"]

[Text] Vienna—In the GDR's view, the Vienna talks on conventional disarmament in Europe succeeded, in a relatively short time, in narrowing the differences between the positions of the Warsaw Pact and NATO. The package of proposals submitted by the socialist states and the corresponding reaction by the NATO summit in Brussels testify to this, the head of the GDR delegation, Ambassador Klaus-Dieter Ernst stated on Thursday [15 June] at the plenary session in Vienna. The GDR advocates the early conclusion of substantial and reliable agreements that strengthen the security and stability in Europe to the advantage of all sides concerned.

Ambassador Ernst expressed the hope that the general willingness of the Western side to include attack aircraft, helicopters, and manpower in the talks will soon translate into corresponding specific proposals. As soon as the NATO proposals are on the table, they will will be closely examined by the Warsaw Pact, with readiness for compromise.

The GDR representative also referred to the proposal made by the Brussels NATO summit to reduce only Soviet and U.S. manpower stationed abroad. He described such an approach as unilateral, because this would mean that about 150,000 soldiers from other NATO states that are deployed outside their territories would not be taken into consideration. This would make it possible, for example, to compensate the reductions and ceilings through armed forces of other states of the alliance. Since a large number of these soldiers are stationed on the GDR's western border, the GDR is highly interested in a reliable settlement of this problem, Ambassador Ernst stressed. For this reason, the socialist states have proposed joint limits to the strength of all troops deployed abroad, he pointed out.

Disarmament Envoy Comments on Geneva Conference

LD2006135389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0934 GMT 20 Jun 89

[Text] Geneva (ADN)—Ambassador Dr Peter Dietze, head of the GDR delegation at the Geneva disarmament conference, appealed to the body of 44 states "to make a firm contribution toward the brisk continuation of the process of disarmament, which has been set in motion." The GDR is in favor of the conference holding an exchange of views, based on results so far, to proceed to negotiations in areas where this is possible, and to bring current negotiations to an early conclusion, he told the plenary session today.

Regarding talks on banning chemical weapons, the conference must now concentrate on drawing up regulations on checks where there is ground for suspicion, as well as on agreeing on the procedural order for destroying chemical weapons and their production plants. The GDR is ready to do everything within its power to solve these problems.

Improved political conditions should make it easier for the conference to make advances, at last in nuclear disarmament. The proposals submitted by the Soviet Union in 1986 and India in 1988 on the gradual elimination of nuclear weapons, the socialist states' working paper on nuclear disarmament presented in New York this May, and the corresponding resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly offered a good basis for this. A ban on nuclear weapons testing would, above all else, be the key to limiting the nuclear arms race.

The conference must also help work out the principles of nuclear disarmament. This included the interrelations between bilateral and multilateral agreements, the connection between nuclear disarmament, and other areas of disarmament or parallel measures, such as the withdrawal of nuclear weapons from foreign territories and security guarantees for states which do not possess nuclear weapons.

Regarding the question of "preventing an arms race in space," more concrete work must be done. The head of the GDR delegation renewed his call in this respect for a ban on anti-satellite and other space weapons.

Nuclear-Free Zone Meeting Opens in Berlin

LD2706154189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0917 GMT 27 Jun 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—A 2-day meeting of the International Liaison Office for Nuclear-Free Zones began in Berlin on Tuesday morning. It is being attended by representatives of governments and parliaments, parties, and international organizations, and by personalities from organizations of nuclear-free zones and cities, from peace movements and scientific institutions.

"One year after the international meeting on nuclear-free zones in Berlin, which turned out to be a peace forum of universal character, the GDR once again is hosting representatives from numerous countries of all continents and from international organizations," says Erich Honecker's message of greetings, which was read out by the First Deputy Foreign Minister Dr Herbert Krolikowski, at the beginning of the discussions. The recent change for the better in international relations, the greetings message goes on to say, is epitomized by the ratification and implementation of the INF Treaty. This increases the relevance of the ideas about creating nuclear-free zones and other zones with reduced arms as a means to liberate the world from the diabolical weapons of mass destruction for all time. The meeting in Berlin encouraged the GDR persistently and resourcefully to continue its policy, followed consistently since its founding 40 years ago, which calls not for force but for peaceful coexistence and cooperation to be the supreme norm of the life of the peoples.

The change from confrontation to detente increasingly influences the international climate and bilateral, regional, and multilateral relations between states, said SED Politburo member Hermann Axen in his opening address. The chairman of the People's Chamber Foreign Affairs Committee paid tribute to the Soviet-U.S. treaty on the removal of medium- and short-range missiles. The GDR, which made its contribution and still is contributing to the creation of the INF Treaty, will continue to work constructively on its implementation. Thus disarmament is possible, he said, and complicated security policy problems are soluble too, if the political will is present and if there is a fair balance of the interests of the parties involved under the principles of equality and equal security.

"The GDR welcomes the resumption of Soviet-U.S. negotiations on strategic offensive weapons with adherence to the ABM Treaty," Hermann Axen said. In spite of all these positive tendencies, one cannot overlook the fact that the world situation continues to be complicated and contradictory. There still are forces that cling to the dangerous cliches of military strength and the striving for military superiority. This endangers the continuation of the disarmament process, the speaker said.

The supreme maxim of GDR foreign policy is, and remains, to work purposefully and resourcefully for peace and security. The GDR unreservedly favors the security principles codified in the Helsinki Final Acts. Since the international meeting in June 1988, the GDR has made new disarmament initiatives and disarmament measures of its own, Herman Axen said. The socialist states are putting forward wide-ranging proposals at the Vienna negotiations in order to change the strength and structure of the forces of the Warsaw Pact and NATO in such a way that the capacity for surprise attacks and large-scale offensives is removed. The GDR is aware that the struggle for a world free of nuclear weapons, of war and force, requires many stages and steps. Hence it still favors partial disarmament measures.

Participation in the present meeting indicates that there is great interest in the continuation of the dialogue on all issues connected with regional nuclear-free zones. The speaker concluded by proposing meetings at intervals of 1-2 years or—if international developments demand—even more often, in order to exchange views, discuss proposals, and undertake a review of achievements.

NATO Called 'Reluctant' To Reduce Aircraft

AU1306133489 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 9 Jun 89 p 1

[CTK report: "Disagreements About Aircraft"]

[Text] Vienna—The CTK Vienna correspondent asked Ladislav Balcar, head of the CSSR delegation to CFE talks, to evaluate the current situation in the negotiations between Warsaw Pact and NATO member states on the reduction of conventional forces in Europe.

Much joint effort will still be necessary for both the Warsaw Pact states and the NATO states to find a common denominator. This is evident in the problem of aircraft. Unlike before, the NATO countries are willing to include aircraft in the agreement. The question arises about what kind of aircraft to include in the number which would be subject to reduction. The Warsaw Pact countries are of the opinion that this should involve, first and foremost, strike aircraft of the tactical air force. In this sphere, the NATO countries have the advantage and are reluctant to agree to such a method of including aircraft earmarked for reduction. They want to resolve this situation by incorporating into this number aircraft which only fulfill tasks of anti-aircraft defense. The Warsaw Pact member states are not ruling this out because they assume that a reduction in aircraft of this type should take place in the second stage. In the first stage, those types of aircraft which have a fundamental destabilizing character should be reduced.

We hope, he said, that before 7 September, when the third round of negotiations begins, we will find a response even to this question in the NATO proposals.

International Militaries Visit South Moravia

43-Member Group Makes Visit

LD1706141289 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1000 GMT 17 Jun 89

[Text] A 43-member group of military experts from 27 countries—including the United States of America and Canada—is visiting the South Moravian region at the invitation of the Defense Ministry. They include members of Vienna talks on measures to strengthen trust and security in Europe, as well as talks of the 23 states of the Warsaw Pact and NATO on conventional disarmament in Europe.

PRAVDA Reports Visit

AU2006154589 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 19 Jun 89 p 1

[CTK report: "In Support of Trust Between States; Military Experts From the Vienna Talks in South Moravia"]

[Text] Brno—On Saturday [17 June], 43 military experts from 27 European countries, the United States, and Canada, visited the South Moravia region at the invitation of the CSSR minister for national defense. They were representatives from both sets of Vienna talks: on confidence-building measures and security, in which representatives from 35 countries are participating, and representatives at the talks between the 23 states of the Warsaw Pact and NATO on conventional armed forces in Europe.

In 1987 Czechoslovakia, as the first country after the Stockholm Conference on security and cooperation in Europe, invited foreign experts to observe military activity in the CSSR. The visit to the South Moravia region is the first invitation extended to military representatives of the current Vienna talks, with the aim of opening the

doors of military glasnost, and of supporting trust between states in order that the discussions between the experts finish as soon as possible, with positive results.

The foreign guests observed with interest the battlefield of three emperors in 1805 at Slavkov near Brno (abroad it is known as the Battle of Austerlitz). At the Zuran section, they were given a lecture on Napoleon I's waging of the battle. At the Tumulus of Peace monument in the village of Prace, they became acquainted with the consequences of the several-hour-long battle involving 65,000 Frenchmen with 80,000 men from the allied Austro-Russian forces, the outcome of which was 35,000 dead. At Slavkov Castle, their attention was attracted to the place where the rulers signed the peace treaty.

At Brno-Turany Airport, the experts viewed air and ground-based weapons and systems which are the subject of the present talks in Vienna.

During a visit to the first faculty of the Antonin Zapotocky Military Academy in Brno, they were convinced about the defensive military doctrine of the Warsaw Pact countries and the CSSR. In this oldest and largest military college in Czechoslovakia, they inspected training facilities and conversed with the head of the academy on the preparation of command cadres for the Czechoslovak People's Army. Here they also saw an exhibition of modern Czechoslovak hunting and sporting weapons.

In the evening the military experts returned to Vienna.

Canadians Observe CSSR Military Exercises

AU2006172689 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 15 Jun 89 p 2

[CTK report]

[Text] Podborany—In Karlovy Vary at 1230 yesterday, a group of four Canadian inspectors began the first inspection of military activity on CSSR territory. The right to request the carrying out of an inspection arises from Articles 65 and 66 of the Final Document of the Stockholm Conference on Confidence-Building Measures, Security, and Disarmament in Europe.

The inspection can last for a maximum of 48 hours, that is, it must be completed by 1230 on Friday 16 June. The Czechoslovak side is obliged to create for the inspectors all the conditions for their work, to provide transportation, to place at their disposal the necessary means of transportation, including helicopters, and enable them to carry out inspection activity on territory which the side making the request determines beforehand. This case involves territory from the east right up to the south-west of Bohemia.

The inspection on the basis of the Stockholm document is being undertaken in Czechoslovakia for the first time, and Canada is also carrying out an inspection in another country for the first time. The CSSR was the last state in Central Europe where such an inspection had not taken place so far.

Shortly before the inspectors' departure for the military area in north-western Bohemia, where tactical exercises by a Czechoslovak People's Army unit involving 13,500 troops are currently taking place, the commander of the Canadian group of military experts, Colonel Ken Mitchell, granted an interview to a CTK reporter. In the interview, he said that he is very satisfied with the cooperation from the Czechoslovak side. The mission of the inspection, he said, arises wholly from the conclusions of the Stockholm conference. He expressed his conviction that such inspections contribute to increasing trust and security in Europe. In reply to the question of whether the Canadian Government had some special reason for delegating an inspection to the CSSR, Colonel Mitchell said: "There was no special reason, but we regarded it as suitable to utilize the opportunity and valid stipulations of the Stockholm document."

Further Reportage on Paris CSCE Conference

Meeting Ends

AU2706095689 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 24 Jun 89 p 5

[Report: "Striving for Cooperation Prevails. Bulgaria Will Continue in the Future To Implement the Vienna Accords"]

[Text] Paris, 23 June (RABOTNICHESKO DELO correspondent Pantaley Karasimeonov)—The first meeting of the Conference on the Human Dimension of the All-European Process ended here today. As agreed in Vienna, the next two meetings will be held in Copenhagen in 1990 and in Moscow in 1991.

At the final plenary session, all 35 states taking part in the forum ascribed to the common assessment that the Paris stage of the conference was an important step forward towards expanding cooperation in one of the most sensitive spheres of the Helsinki process, namely humanitarian cooperation and human rights. The present meeting, together with the talks that have started in Vienna on conventional armed forces and the information forum in London, has convincingly demonstrated that the Vienna accords are being implemented in specific ways. The Paris forum achieved one of the goals outlined in Vienna, namely consolidation of the transition from confrontation to cooperation in the humanitarian field. Most countries expressed satisfaction that ideological clashes were rather the exception, and that the times had passed when such meetings were held exclusively under the banner of implacable confrontation.

The constructive atmosphere made it possible to discuss a very wide range of issues, whose solution will provide a further impetus to humanitarian cooperation. A detailed examination was made of the problem of perfecting the mechanism for monitoring the fulfillment of the Vienna obligations concerning human rights.

Of course, it is too early to think that all the states taking part in the common European process have attuned themselves to the wavelength of the new thinking. This was especially evident in the positions adopted by countries like Great Britain, the United States, Canada, and certain others, who on the last day used the platform to make attacks against the socialist states, instead of seeking a common language. These contries are applying a "double standard" in assessing fulfillment of the human rights obligations stemming from the Vienna accords: They directed attacks against certain states, but, because of considerations relating to their allies or for ideological reasons, passed over in silence the human rights breaches in other countries that had been established on numerous occasions. This line confirmed that certain outdated stereotypes have still not been overcome.

The support given by certain Western representatives to Turkey's slanderous attacks on our country, was also illustrative of this line. Making use of falsifications, and in complete variance with the general constructive spirit of the conference, these representatives permitted themselves to level unfounded accusations against Bulgaria. At the same time, the gross, mass violations of human rights in Turkey, which has been condemned at more than one international forum, were passed over in silence.

The delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgarian made its own important contribution to the success of the Paris meeting. The countries taking part in the forum welcomed with great interest, the steps taken by our country in the humanitarian field, which are completely in harmony with the Vienna final document. As the statements of the Bulgarian delegates stressed, the new measures are dictated by our country's political determination to fill with specific content, the accord reached in Vienna that all the participating states should bring their national legislation into line with the voluntarily adopted international obligations.

In his final statement today, Lyuben Kulishev, leader of the Bulgarian delegation, positively assessed the work of the Paris meeting. He stressed that Bulgaria is determined to continue to fulfill the obligations embodied in the Vienna documents. The Bulgarian representative once again rejected the attacks by certain countries that tendentiously distort the free travel by Bulgarian Muslims to Turkey.

After lengthy consultations, the delegations decided not to adopt a final document, because the Paris meeting is only the first of the three meetings within the framework of the conference on the human dimension. The 36 proposals submitted to the forum for improving the fulfillment of the Vienna obligations relating to human rights and international cooperation in this field will be regarded as official documents, and will be examined by the governments of all the participating states. Specific measures will be worked out and agreed in the period before the next conference, in Copenhagen.

Particular interest was aroused by the proposal of France and the USSR to create an all-European field of law, as well as the Soviet initiative for the holding of an all-European consular conference and drawing up a corresponding convention. The Soviet Union supported the idea of making more humanitarian the entire range of consular relations between the states of the continent. The Bulgarian proposals on encouraging parliamentary links in the humanitarian sphere, guaranteeing the right to a healthy environment, withdrawing the reservations according to certain texts of international pacts on human rights, and intensifying the campaign against all forms of racism and race discrimination were assessed as

a constructive contribution to humanitarian cooperation. Useful initiatives were also proposed by Czechoslovakia, Hungary, France, the FRG, Poland, Spain, and other countries.

Eyes are now turned toward Copenhagen and Moscow. As Ambassador Yuriy Kashlev, leader of the Soviet delegation, stated at the news conference he gave today: "Copenhagen lies before us, and the Moscow final meeting is not far off, at which the mandate of Vienna must be filled with tangible results of our joint work. We may state with confidence that, when internal development and the common European process are guided by the interests of humanitarianism and are aimed at elevating the individual, we are sure that the positive experience obtained in Paris will be reflected in a worthy manner at our future meetings."

CSSR Envoy Views Conference

AU2706103089 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 24 Jun 89 pp 1, 7

[CTK correspondent's report: "A Hopeful Contribution to the Future"]

[Excerpts] Paris (CTK correspondent)— The conference on the human dimension of the CSCE ended with a plenary session in Paris on Friday [23 June]. [passage omitted]

Following the concluding session, Ambassador Frantisek Dolezel, head of the Czechoslovak delegation, told the CTK correspondent:

The Paris meeting was a premiere of sorts and we must assess it as such. It laid the groundwork for further talks on human rights and contacts between people, which will be held in Copenhagen in 1990 and in Moscow in 1991. It showed that it is possible to discuss in an open, critical, and yet businesslike manner, the question of how to further develop and intensify cooperation in this field among participating states.

The broad exchange of views on approaches to the fulfillment of the Vienna final document confirmed the growing importance of the human dimension in relations among signatory states of the Helsinki Final Act. The internationalization of this sphere naturally also brings with it certain differences of views on how to reach the jointly set targets most effectively. This also found its expression at the Paris talks. Nonetheless, compared with the past, expressly confrontationist attempts to impose one's own ideas on others were less frequent, although similar efforts could also be seen here. Some Western delegations, although not many, have not yet rid themselves of the stereotypes of the past. However, most countries unambiguously demonstrated their interest in constructive cooperation in the spirit of the principles of the all-European process. We consider this very fact to be a hopeful contribution to the future.

Frantisek Dolezel went on to say that 36 new proposals had been submitted to the Paris conference, in which the effort toward a new quality in cooperation prevails. These proposals, which include three Czechoslovak initiatives, were received with interest by the conference and will be assessed in detail at the Copenhagen meeting next year. Of course, this will make it necessary for all participating states to carefully consider all possibilities of further enriching their legislation and practice and, in some respects, intensifying the entire package of human rights and basic freedoms. As far as Czechoslovakia is concerned, the ongoing processes of restructuring and democratization create favorable conditions for the implementation of these tasks.

The Paris conference thus represents a promising step on the road toward the further promotion of confidence and cooperation in Europe, thanks also to the good conditions established by the French Government. It will now depend on all participants whether this positive potential will be utilized in the interest of further development on our continent.

6th Democratic Front Congress Continues

The 6th Congress of the DFA continues its proceedings.

Proceedings Reported

AU2706191189 Tirana ATA in English
1659 GMT 27 Jun 89

[Text] Tirana, June 27 (ATA)—The 6th Congress of the Democratic Front of Albania [DFA] continues its proceedings amidst a lofty revolutionary enthusiasm. On June 27 at 8 am, the delegates and guests welcome with applause and acclamations, Comrade Ramiz Alia, first secretary of the party Central Committee and president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, and the other party and state leaders who entered the hall.

In the morning sittings, continued the contributions to the report of the General Council of the DFA "The Democratic Front—Broadest Support of the Party for the Socialist Construction of the Country."

Sulejman Bushati, vice-chairman of the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania, delivered the report of the verification commission of mandates. He pointed out, among the other things, that over 1600 delegates are elected to the 6th Congress of the DFA. Their make up mirrors, the vigorous transformations that have taken place in our socialist life. Nearly 45 percent of the delegates elected to the 6th Congress are vanguard workers and cooperativists, distinguished workers in various fronts of the construction of socialism and the defense of the homeland. It is very significant the fact that most of the members of the presidencies of the district Democratic Front Councils and of the delegates to the Congress are young boys and girls, distinguished activists.

Over 50 percent of delegates have acquired higher education and 40 percent secondary education. Out of them, 35 are awarded the lofty titles "hero of the people" and "hero of socialist labor." There are teachers and artists of the people and hundreds of others decorated with orders and medals, who are awarded scientific titles and degrees. All this shows of the great commitment of all the activists of the Front in the struggle to reach the targets set by the party at its 9th Congress and the plenums of the Central Committee.

At the break of this sitting, Comrade Ramiz Alia met at the hall of the Palace of Congresses with delegates from various districts of the country—workers and cooperativists, war and labor veterans, intellectuals and militarymen, young men and women.

In one of the morning sittings, the Congress was greeted by a group of pioneers of Enver, who created a joyful atmosphere in the hall. The children and the pioneers of Enver expressed their profound love and gratitude for the party, for the dear and unforgettable leader Comrade Enver Hoxha, and pledged to Comrade Ramiz Alia that they will always be ready to fight for the cause of the party and people.

Speeches Reported

AU2806093089 Tirana ATA in English
0800 GMT 28 Jun 89

[Text] Tirana, June 28 (ATA)—In their contributions at the 6th Congress of the Democratic Front of Albania, the delegates and guests voiced once again their revolutionary optimism and enthusiasm to march on the road defined by the respected and unforgettable leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha, and following the teachings of Comrade Ramiz Alia, to further strengthen the unity of the people round the party, which is the key to all the victories attained in these 45 years of free life.

They reiterated, among the other things, that the balance sheet being drawn for the period between the two congresses is rich and inspiring. Under the leadership of the party, important strides onwards have been taken in the country's socialist construction.

The 45-year long experience of our people's power, those who took the floor at the congress pointed out in their contributions, as well as the achievements scored with regard to the constant strengthening of party-people unity, the consolidation of economy and the uplift of the material and cultural level of the people, are due to the translation into life of the instructions of the party to enhance the participation of the masses in running the country. Everywhere, it is manifested the broad socialist democracy as genuine democracy for the working masses.

The delegates of the Greek minority in the district of Gjirokaster pointed out to the changes that have taken place in the minority. They underscored that the people of the minority enjoy by Constitution all rights and the democratic liberties as every Albanian citizen. They are proud, chip up and chest out, live happy and have a reliable future. The people of the minority enjoy all rights, in every sphere of life, in the economic, social, political, educational and cultural ones.

In continuation of the contributions, it was pointed out that the Albanian people on their road for the construction of socialism self-reliantly has always aspired to extend the peaceful cooperation with other countries, first of all with their neighbours, on the basis of equality, rigorous observation of sovereignty, noninterference in the home affairs of one another, and of the mutual benefit. But different from the other countries, the contributions underlined, Yugoslavia continues to maintain an anti-Albanian stand . The shaking events in Kosovo have aroused indignation, not only in the Albanians, our brothers in Kosovo and other territories in Yugoslavia, but also amidst the progressive public opinion in the world, who condemn the actions of savage violence.

It was underlined that the proceedings of this congress are a testimony to the inexhaustible vitality and permanent relevance of the ideas of the party, and Comrade Enver Hoxha's teachings, and Comrade Ramiz Alia's instructions, to raise higher the glory and prosperity of socialist Albania.

Proceedings Conclude

AU2806170989 Tirana ATA in English 1502 GMT 28 Jun 89

[Text] Tirana, June 28 (ATA)—The 6th Congress of the Democratic Front of Albania continued its proceedings on June 28 before noon.

The delegates and the invitees received with great enthusiasm, the entrance into the hall of the first secretary of the party Central Committee and president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Comrade Ramiz Alia, and of the other party and state leaders.

After the closing of the contributions, it was passed into the approval of the documents of the congress. [sentence as received] Then the appeal of the 6th Congress of the Democratic Front of Albania, which was unanimously approved, was read.

The delegates approved the decision of the 6th Congress of the Democratic Front of Albania for the approval of the report "The Democratic Front—The Broadest Reliance of the Party for the Country's Socialist Construction."

Then it was passed into the last point on the agenda, to the election of the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania.

Then the candidatures to the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania were presented. The first secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labor of Albania, Comrade Ramiz Alia, is proposed at the lead of the list. The delegates and the invitees stand up and break into powerful applauses and acclamations.

The delegates unanimously approved the composition of the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania of 185 members. Then the General Council conducted its first meeting.

At the proposal of Comrade Ramiz Alia, Comrade Nexhmije Hoxha was elected chairwoman of the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania. Comrades Pilo Peristeri, Hysen Lacej, Ismail Kadare, and [name indistinct] were elected vice-chairmen. Comrade Leka Shkurti was elected secretary of the General Council.

The chairwoman of the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania, Nexhmije Hoxha, delivered the closing speech of the Congress, saying among others:

The 6th Congress of the Democratic Front of Albania manifested the steel-like unity and the boundless love for our glorious party, the determination to always march ahead on the road of socialism, on the road of our unforgettable leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha, conceived and traced. The greeting that Comrade Ramiz Alia, addressed to the Congress and the whole Albanian people in the name of the party Central Committee inspired us all and gave us forces. This greeting is not only a great message, but a wide program of work and struggle that arms us with new tasks. We ensure once more the party, its Central Committee with Comrade Ramiz Alia, that all the members of the Democratic Front will always be as a single body around them, in a common front of struggle and work, always on the front line to apply the historic decisions of the Ninth Congress of the party, to respond to the appeal of the 6th Congress of the Democratic Front with readiness, mobilization, work, and vigilance.

Wounding up the proceedings of this great assembly of the organization of the Democratic Front, we promise to our glorious party that, under its leadership, we will raise to higher heights the banner of the people's union and of the unity around the party, we will mobilize all our energies to attain ever greater successes in the road of the triumphant socialism.

The enthusiasm in the hall is great. Vigorous applauses and acclamations for the party, its Central Committee with Comrade Ramiz Alia at the head.

Hence, the 6th Congress of the Democratic Front of Albania wounds up its proceedings, where the steel-like unity of the people around the party, the determination to always march ahead on the road of socialism, to make our dear homeland stronger and prosperous, was voiced for three days in succession.

Dinner Marks Conclusion

AU2906084289 Tirana ATA in English 0745 GMT 29 Jun 89

[Text] Tirana, June 29 (ATA)—On June 28, afternoon, the delegates to the 6th Congress of the Democratic Front of Albania were guests of heroic Peze, where 47 years ago, on the initiative of the Communist Party of Albania (today the PLA) [Albanian Workers Party] and of our beloved and unforgettable leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha, the first Antifascist National Liberation Conference convened. It laid the foundations of the National Liberation Front and of the people's power.

The delegates paid homage and laid wreaths on the martyrs' graves of Peze province and by the obelisk devoted to Peze Conference.

On occasion of the conclusion of the proceedings of the 6th Congress of the Democratic Front of Albania, the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania, gave a dinner in Peze.

Attending were the first secretary of the party Central Committee and president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Comrade Ramiz Alia and the other party and state leaders, as well as members of the party Central Committee, the Presidium of the People's Assembly and Government, the delegates of the congress, veterans and distinguished activists of the Democratic Front organisations, representatives of mass organisations, and militarymen.

The chairwoman of the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania, Nexhmije Hoxha, opening the dinner said: We came tonight here in this common dinner, after the successful completion of the 6th Congress of the Democratic Front of Albania. Everybody's desire was to come to historic Peze, which constitutes the origin of our front organisation.

This joyful evening ushers in the atmosphere of our 6th Congress with the boundless homage for that day, when the unforgettable Enver, precisely here, in the fold of these freedom-loving and generous hearths of Peze wrote one of the most important signatures of the party, the signature of the political unification of the whole Albanian people in the armed uprising, and founded the National-Liberation Front, consistent follower of which is the Democratic Front.

The delegates of the 6th Congress of the Front, Comrade Nexhmije Hoxha continued, lived three days of strong emotions, joy, inspiration, ration [as received] and revolutionary optimism, the culminating point of which was the greeting of the party, the warm word of Comrade Ramiz Alia, which constitutes another expression of the special care the Central Committee and the whole party devoted to our organisation of the Front. The warm words of the leader and the high evaluation he made to our organisation, the tasks he set for the future, will be a great source of inspiration to carry always forward our work for the education and mobilisation of the broad working masses in fulfilling the targets of the 9th Congress of the party and of the 8th five-year plan.

The dinner proceeded in a very joyful atmosphere.

Yugoslav Paper's Interview on Kosovo Reported

AU2306153889 Tirana ATA in English
0734 GMT 23 Jun 89

["Climate of Genocide of Grave Consequences for the Albanian People of Kosovo"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, June 23 (ATA)—Sarajevo's newspaper OSLOBODJENJE of June 18, carries the interview of the Kosovo academician, Rexhep Qosja, entitled "Europe in a Balkan-Like Way," which says among others:

Question: Your recent meeting with the delegation of the European Parliament in Pristina caused different reactions in our public opinion.

Reply: This meeting caused different reactions in the public opinion and, unfortunately, there were more ill-willing reactions to the good-wishing ones. It is indeed astonishing to react in such a way toward the meeting of the Albanian intellectuals with such a representative delegation as that of the European Parliament, which came here upon the invitation of Yugoslavia's Assembly and to which the hosts had promised to give the possibility "to speak freely with whoever they liked." What astonishes one most is the fact that it were the Serbian intellectuals, even professors of the Belgrade University, doctors of sciences, and academicians who preceded these ill-wishing reactions. But what can you do. A number of Serbian intellectuals not only support but also inspire the repressive policy toward the Albanians, toward the Albanian intelligentsia. They know how to protest against the repressive measures in China, but not against the repressive measures in Kosovo, they know how to protest against the arrest of Vaclav Havel in Czechoslovakia, but not against the so-called isolation of Albanian intellectuals in Kosovo, they know how to defend the freedom of their communication with the world, but do not accept the fact that the Albanian intellectuals enjoy such a freedom.

Question: Bearing in mind the fact that it was agreed upon a meeting with you and other intellectuals, on the morrow, how did it happen that this meeting was held in a hotel room in a protocol-like atmosphere and without the presence of any of our country's officials?

Reply: You'd better ask the Kosovo officials, particularly the chairman of Kosovo's Assembly, Vukashin Jovanovic, who was the host of the European parliamentarians in Kosovo. After the meeting with the members of the delegation I understood that the Kosovo officials, under various pretexts had tried to hinder the delegation from meeting with us and for this reason they were obliged to invite us to meet them. Personally I was very sorry for not being in the rector's hall of the Pristina university, where the delegation of the European Parliament met with the intellectual bureaucracy, where in front of all I could say more than I said in the hotel room on the position of the Albanians today, which constitutes a very small part of what I have written and published until now.

Question: The clamor on the approval of the constitution of the SR [Socialist Republic] of Serbia is not yet extinguished. What was that thing that so greatly disturbed the spirits in Kosovo on this constitution?

Reply: By changing the constitution, the Albanians in Kosovo were demanded a part of the history they had lived through. The Albanians are the only ones in Yugoslavia, who through the changes in the constitution are deprived of the rights, they are the only ones, whose constitutional-juridical and political destiny witnessed a regress. I am convinced that the Serbian leadership has made a mistake by deciding to limit the constitutional position of Kosovo. Viewed from the historic point of

view, the Serbian leadership has committed a mistake by implementing the act of constitutional changes in Kosovo through force, tanks. The Serbian leadership continues to be mistaken in maintaining the Albanians under the political and state repression, that unfortunately, will leave deep traces in the spirit of several generations.

It is more than 8 years that we have not heard a single good word addressed to us, not an opinion showing respect toward us, we have not witnessed a single movement wishing rapprochement with us, not in a single case was their hand of aid extended to us, even the slightest desire for an equal dialogue has not been expressed. But only attacks, offense, discrimination, slanders, blackmail, differentiation, arrests, summons, isolation, imprisonment.

Question: As intellectual, creator, pedagogue, and academician, do you feel yourself as Albanian, second-hand citizen in Kosovo?

Reply: It is not difficult to notice that the greater number of Albanians, especially in Kosovo and Macedonia, is feeling today as Kafka's Joseph, who is always expecting someone to come and take him, because the majority of the Albanians today anxiously are expecting the knock at the door after 21.00 hours. The majority of the Albanians anxiously go to work and anxiously return from work. On the basis of these facts, you yourselves can judge whether this is a feeling of a second-hand citizen, third-hand or more. The Albanians today feel themselves as citizens, for whom the others decide, and not as citizens who might decide for their destinies. The political will of the Albanians practically has been denied among others, due to the fact that there exists no political will of the Albanian political representatives: They are nominated or discharged outside Kosovo, as if they have no identity.

Do I feel as a second-hand citizen? I cannot feel different from the people, to which I belong.

Question: The divergences concerning the situation in Kosovo are apparent and no one hides or can hide them any more. According to your opinion, how can these divergences be overcomed?

Reply: In their history the Albanians have never been able to threaten the others. Their destiny, in fact a destiny of constant defense, a destiny of a suffering people and who fought for existence has been the destiny of a poor and often subdued people. How can someone, who possesses no state mechanism, behind which does not lay the power called state, endanger any other who possesses all the state mechanisms and behind which lays the power called state?

Question: You are signers of the appeal of the 215 Albanian intellectuals from Kosovo. What do you think on this action and on the appeal, following all the official assessments and stands in the province and the Republic?

Reply: As one of its signers and initiators, I think that the above-mentioned appeal is an ordinary request, which was put forth and signed by the intellectuals, whose political situation obliges them to write appeals instead of memorandums. Nevertheless, the political structures exploited this request, so as to make the Albanian intellectuals forget what they had written in their request and not open their mouth to say anything without the approval of these structures. The many months long noise about this appeal shows very clearly how delicate and politically insecure is the position of the Albanian intelligentsia.

Because of the appeal of the 215 Albanian intellectuals, the latter are punished by the party and dismissed from it, sacked from work, discharged from the post of the dean, pro-dean or of the editor etc. The political reactions toward the said appeal show that the political repressions, the campaigns against the people, denunciations, and humiliation because of the opinion expressed in a democratic way, conscious or not, are to the disadvantage of all, hence, even to the disadvantage of oneself.

Question: How do you consider the solution of the Kosovo problem in the framework of Serbia and Yugoslavia?

Reply: First of all, the solution of the Kosovo problem should be sought in the development of Kosovo. Many misfortunes of Kosovo are conditioned by the economic backwardness, unemployment, lower standard of living. Secondly, according to my opinion, the solution of the Kosovo problem should be sought in the establishment of the equilibrium in the intranational relations, that is, in the establishment of the equilibrium in the rights of the nations in Yugoslavia.

Question: When it is spoken of Yugoslavia being threatened by the internal enemy the glance is thrown toward Kosovo. How much do the Albanians from Kosovo consider this Yugoslavia as their homeland?

Reply: The tales on Yugoslavia's being endangered by the Albanians are only tales. The reasonable, objective, and well-wishing people know well that the Albanians wish stabilization and an ever greater progress of Yugoslavia, because in every direction this is also in their interest. But it is not the Albanians to be blamed for the present difficulties of the Yugoslav society. The truth is that the Albanians today are in anxiety, they are afraid of the politicians, militiamen, militarymen, judges. They are anxious about their work, their family, their dignity, their security, their future and their freedom. As a wise

politician has once said, who as it seems, had not lived in the Balkans, in order to enjoy the love of its citizens, the state must be such that the citizens are not afraid of.

Question: You give lessons in the university and are aware of all the developments in this educational institution. How much true is the confession that the university in Pristina is "the brain of the separatists" or "hearth of nationalism"?

Reply: Some days ago one might have read in the daily newspapers the political acknowledgement that "the activity of the Albanian nationalists continues to be particularly pronounced in universities, educational institutions, in the Archive of Kosovo, the Institute of History, in the Albanological Institute, and in the mass media in the Albanian language." According to this acknowledgement, all the educational, cultural, and scientific institutions in the Albanian language are politically doubtful. Such a stand toward the Albanian culture, science, education, and intelligentsia is of destructive consequences for our cultural development and spiritual integrity.

Question: The emigration of the non-Albanian population from Kosovo is evident. Two reasons are mentioned more often: the pressure by the Albanians and the economic reasons. Which place is it better to live and why the Albanians do not emigrate, but settle?

Reply: No one feels well in Kosovo. Many are those who would wish to live in another place. The emigration of the Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo is rightfully felt more. But Albanians, too, are leaving and even in ever greater numbers.

Question: Can we speak of a conflict between the Albanian intelligentsia and the official policy?

Reply: According to me, in Kosovo it can be spoken of a policy which would like to destroy any kind of intellectual autonomy, and in this direction, this policy in Kosovo is very successful, unfortunately.

Question: Can we speak of a crisis of morale and belief?

Reply: The Yugoslav crisis is at the same time a moral crisis. When one hears and sees what is spoken, what is done, how is evaluated, what is aimed to be done, then he understands that the moral crisis is deeper.

Zhivkov Greets CPC Leader Jiang on Election

AU2806120889 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 27 Jun 89 p 1

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, has sent a telegram to Jiang Zemin cordially congratulating him on his election to the post of general secretary of the CPC Central Committee.

I wish you and the entire CPC leadership great successes in your responsible work to further consolidate the friendship and cooperation between our parties and peoples, for the benefit of peace, socialism, and progress.

Please accept my most sincere good wishes for your good health and fruitful work in this high and responsible post, the telegram states.

Atanasov Receives PRC Light Industry Minister

AU2706192889 Sofia BTA in English 1738 GMT 27 Jun 89

[Text] Sofia, June 27 (BTA)—Mr Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, today received Mr Zeng Xianlin, minister of light industry of China, who is paying a visit here in connection with the fourth session of the Bulgaro-Chinese Commission for Economic, Trade and Techno-Scientific Cooperation. Satisfaction was expressed with the progress of bilateral trade and economic relations and it was stressed that the decisions of the present session will have an important impact on their extension. Special attention was paid to the establishment of joint enterprises, mainly in the field of mechanical engineering, agriculture, the light and the food industries. It was pointed out that the relations with a number of Chinese provinces will play an important role in activating the direct contacts between firms and economic organizations of the two countries.

Mr Khristo Khristov, minister at the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations and cochairman of the commission, was also present at the meeting.

Economic Accord Signed

AU2706132989 Sofia BTA in English 1224 GMT 27 June 89

["Bulgaria-China: Fine Prospects for Economic Cooperation"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, June 27 (BTA)—Fine prospects for the long-term promotion of economic cooperation between Bulgaria and China open with the economic reforms underway in the two countries, which were characterized here today as an "open door policy" by Mr Zeng Xianlin, minister of light industry of China and cochairman of the Bulgaro-Chinese Commission for Economic, Trade and Techno-Scientific Cooperation.

Mr Zeng Xianlin and Mr Khristo Khristov, minister at the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations and cochairman of the commission, signed a protocol on the proceedings of the fourth session which the intergovernmental panel held in Sofia. The protocol gives specific outlines of the two countries' business contacts in this and the next year. It envisages transfer of technology and equipment in materials handling engineering, electronics and agriculture from Bulgaria to China and the import of Chinese goods for Bulgaria's food and light industries.

Interviewed by a BTA reporter, Mr Zeng Xianlin stressed the realism and the constructive spirit of the negotiations and said that China assessed in positive terms the promotion of trade and economic relations with Bulgaria. Bulgaria and China are socialist countries which carry out economic reforms and implement an "open door policy" towards the world, the Chinese minister said. He said China attaches particularly high importance to the expansion and promotion of its economic ties with the socialist countries, along with activating its business contacts with the West.

China will make great and sustained efforts towards the development of its economic ties with Bulgaria, Mr Zeng Xianlin said, asked about the long-term prospects of bilateral cooperation. He noted the fine traditions established in the relations between Sofia and Beijing.

The opportunities opening up for more active direct contacts, industrial and trade cooperation between Bulgarian and Chinese companies were stressed by Minister Khristo Khristov in his statement for the BTA. He said that the agreement on the reciprocal promotion and protection of investment provides a sound legal framework for that. It reflects the two governments' desire to create a favourable climate for direct economic contacts between the two countries' business circles.

Mladenov Arrives in Bonn on Official Visit

Meets With Genscher

AU2806190089 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 28 Jun 89

[Text] Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs, arrived in Bonn. He is paying an official visit to FRG at the invitation of Hans-Dietrich Genscher, vice chancellor and FRG minister of foreign affairs.

The first of the two planned meetings between Petur Mladenov and Hans-Dietrich Genscher took place today. In atmosphere of friendship and mutual understanding they reviewed a broad range of issues related to the international situation, the all-European process, and the Balkans. Special attention was devoted to the results of implementing the agreements reached during the visit of Comrade Todor Zhivkov in the FRG, 2 years ago, and the 1988 visit of the FRG President Richard von Weizsaecker in Bulgaria.

This evening, at the official hall for foreign guests in Bonn, Hans-Dietrich Genscher, FRG minister of foreign affairs, gave an official dinner for his Bulgarian colleague.

Tomorrow Minister Petur Mladenov will be received by FRG President Richard von Weizsaecker, and will have a second meeting with Hans-Dietrich Genscher.

More on Mladenov-Genscher Talks

AU2806200789 Sofia BTA in English
1851 GMT 28 Jun 89

[Text] Bonn, June 28 (BTA special correspondent and BTA correspondent)—Mr Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, today arrived in the capital of the FRG on an official visit at the invitation of Mr Hans-Dietrich Genscher, federal vice-chancellor and minister of foreign affairs of the Federal Republic of Germany.

At the talks they opened here today, Mr Petur Mladenov and Mr Hans-Dietrich Genscher were unanimous in their positive assessment of the East-West dialogue, of the fine prospects for the strengthening of world peace and security. Bulgaria and the Federal Republic of Germany, which are countries of different social systems, members of different politico-military alliances, actively advocate the view of the primacy of universal human values and of the need to settle international problems by peaceful means. Now that all conditions are available to build a new type of international relations, the practical application of the principles of new political thinking on the basis of respect for the partners' sovereignty and interests, for the right of every people to choose freely its own social and political system, acquires special significance.

The vice-chancellor and minister of foreign affairs of the FRG stressed particularly the importance of the visit to the Federal Republic of Germany by Mr Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU and president of the USSR Supreme Soviet, not only for the overall promotion of bilateral relations but also its major role for the political dialogue in Europe and the world, for the consolidation of essentially new international relations.

The Bulgarian minister of foreign affairs agreed with that view and indicated that the Bulgarian Government has commended highly the visit and has stressed its great importance.

In this connection, the sides singled out the fundamentally innovative character of the joint declaration, signed by Mr Mikhail Gorbachev and the FRG chancellor, Dr Helmut Kohl, which catalyzes the promotion of the CSCE process and the cooperation among the 35 states signatories to the Helsinki Final Act.

The chief Bulgarian and West German diplomats pointed to the promising viability of the idea to build a common European home and to overcome the divisions on the old continent and expressed full support for the positive processes which predominate at present. An emphasis was laid on the impetus which came from the decisions of the Vienna follow-up conference on security and cooperation in Europe, as well as on the opportunities opening up with the Vienna conventional forces in Europe talks for lowering the level of military confrontation. The sides agreed to consider specifically at their session tomorrow the relations between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO and the problems of disarmament.

They share the view that the medium-sized and the small countries in the world can contribute tangibly to the easing of tensions, to the elimination of past stereotypes, to the dispelling of mistrust and suspicion and to the building of confidence and good-neighbourliness. Mr Petur Mladenov briefed his host on the efforts of the People's Republic of Bulgaria towards the promotion of bilateral and multilateral cooperation in the Balkans, towards the conduct of a constructive and well-meaning dialogue on the basis of respect for the partners' sovereignty and interests and of non-interference in each other's internal affairs on any matter.

For his part, Mr Hans-Dietrich Genscher told his guest about his country's desire to promote relations of good-neighbourliness and mutually advantageous cooperation with the countries of central Europe, with the states in the East and the West.

The West German foreign minister discussed the political and the economic situation in his country, some new approaches in the foreign political sphere in which realism and good political will prevail.

Mr Hans-Dietrich Genscher showed particular interest in the restructuring in Bulgaria. Mr Petur Mladenov told about the processes of renewal in this country's political, economic and cultural spheres, about the consistent implementation of the Bulgarian Communist Party's July Concept on the restructuring of socialist society in conformity with the country's specifics.

The two ministers surveyed in detail bilateral relations and commended highly the work done to implement the common understanding reached during the visit here two years ago by the president of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and during last year's visit to Bulgaria by Dr Richard von Weizsaecker, president of the FRG. The political contacts are intensifying between cabinet members, between minister presidents of the West German states and Bulgarian regional leaders, between parliamentarians, public figures, businessmen and personalities of culture, science and the arts. More active direct exchanges are carried out between the two countries' regions and states, and young people, students and ordinary citizens see more of each other.

The sides exchanged views on the fine prospects for bilateral business contacts provided under the existing contractual and legal framework which encourages the establishment of joint ventures. Great opportunities for such brisk business open up with State Council Decree No 56, which encourages West German businessmen to enter into joint ventures with Bulgarian companies, contributing investment and technologies. The two countries' business executives must show initiative and activity to make the most of the good conditions available for mutually advantageous cooperation, for the search of better forms of trade and business ties.

Summing up the results of the successful promotion of bilateral relations and their fine prospects, the two countries' ministers of foreign affairs recalled that during the visit of President Richard von Weizsaecker, State Council President Todor Zhivkov described Bulgaro-West German relations as a model of peaceful and fruitful coexistence between countries of different social systems. The Governments of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and of the FRG are pleased with what has been achieved and will persevere in their efforts to enhance bilateral contacts, which is for the benefit of both peoples and is consistent with the positive development of international relations at this stage, with the new tendencies of the CSCE process, with the historic Helsinki and Vienna accords.

The talks, which will continue tomorrow morning, are held in an atmosphere of amity and understanding, in a businesslike and candid spirit. The two delegations of diplomats and experts also conferred today.

This evening Mr Hans-Dietrich Genscher gave an official dinner for his Bulgarian counterpart. The two ministers made toast speeches. The dinner was held in a friendly atmosphere.

Today Mr Petur Mladenov met with Professor Horst Ehmke, deputy floor leader of the Social Democratic Party of Germany at the Bundestag. In a constructive and well-meaning spirit, they discussed topical international issues and bilateral relations.

Mladenov Cable to Nonaligned Countries Forum

AU2806190189 Sofia BTA in English
1733 GMT 28 Jun 89

[Text] Sofia, June 28 (BTA)—Mr Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs of Bulgaria, has sent a cable to the conference of the nonaligned countries' ministers of foreign affairs on peace and international law in The Hague, wishing the participants in that major international forum successful and productive proceedings.

The cable says that Bulgaria regards with respect the nonaligned countries' initiative to mark the 90th anniversary of The Hague convention for the Pacific settlement of international disputes and views the conference of the non-aligned countries as an extension of the universal human traditions and ideals of free and peaceful development, of the prevention and durable settlement of international conflicts.

The cable recalls that the inalienable right of every people to choose its road and to determine its destiny, the interdependence between disarmament and progress and other fundamental characteristics of our time justifiably arrest the attention of the nonaligned countries.

The telegram notes that, firmly committed to her peace-loving foreign policy, Bulgaria will persevere in her contribution to the strengthening of international security, to the promotion of bilateral and multilateral cooperation among states.

BTA Describes Anti-Bulgarian Rally in Istanbul

AU2606194089 Sofia BTA in English
1736 GMT 26 Jun 89

["In Defiance of Good-Neighbourliness and the European Process of Understanding"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, June 26 (BTA political observer Nencho Khranov)—The anti-Bulgarian hysteria, which has been fanned up recently in Turkey, culminated at a rally in Istanbul's Taksim Square last Saturday. The anti-Bulgarian battle cries surviving from the time of the crumbled Turkish Empire came in response to the outbursts of the speakers who claimed to represent the Turkish public. That supernationalist show came complete with the burning of the Bulgarian national flag, a gross insult of a sovereign state.

If the rally in Taksim Square (which has gone down on record as the scene of the brutal suppression of the May Day demonstration of 1977 and as the place where another Turkish worker was killed this year) was merely the work of full-time anti-Bulgarian propaganda mongers such as the chairman of the Federation of "Refugee Associations of Balkan Turks" Mumin Gencoglu, it would have hardly been worth noticing. The principal organizer, however, was the ruling Motherland Party, and it was represented on the speakers podium by the Minister of Culture Namik Kemal Zeybek. Several other cabinet ministers were among the "more important" guests, and according to correspondents reports, Prime Minister Ozal himself watched the rally from a helicopter.

It would be only logical to assume, then, that the government itself is behind the bellicose threats against our country, that their tone, anachronistic with respect to present-day international relations, has been set from the highest quarters in Ankara. How can all this be consistent with the commitments which Turkey has voluntarily assumed within the framework of the CSCE process, with the decisions of the Belgrade ministerial meeting?

The anti-Bulgarian excesses in Istanbul are obviously intended, as foreign correspondents believe, too, to enlist support abroad for the Turkish Government's campaign. On the other hand, local commentators see them as a chance of the ruling party to ride the crest of a wave of nationalist hysteria after its latest political downfalls.

Whether intended to serve the ends of the government's home or foreign policy, the incident in Taksim Square gives the entire European and international community a serious warning of how far the ruling circles in Ankara may go in their pan-Turkish ambitions. For instigating the crowds against a neighbouring people defies not only socialist Bulgaria but also the efforts of all the other states which seek a peaceful East-West dialogue and strengthening of security and cooperation. As to the responsibility for such actions which escalate the tensions in Bulgaro-Turkish relations, it rests solely with their organizers.

FRG Parliamentarians Visit Turkish Border

AU2806165589 Sofia BTA in English
1601 GMT 28 Jun 89

[Text] Kapitan Andreevo (at the Bulgaro-Turkish border), June 28 (BTA correspondent)—Mr Peter Wuertz and Mr Gernot Erler, M.P.s from the Bundestag of West Germany who are on a visit to Bulgaria became acquainted today with the situation at the Kapitan Andreevo crossing. As they told a BTA correspondent, the meetings and talks which they had in Sofia, Khaskovo and at this border check point enabled them to form an idea of the conditions of life and possibilities for travel of Bulgarian Muslims. At Kapitan Andreevo they spoke with many people in the line as well as with representatives of the border administration. Here are their conclusions:

Peter Wuertz: "I can't say that the picture is a happy one. As I understand, that is also the opinion of the Bulgarian side, because it is clear that it is losing people whose future is dim.

"As far as the organization at the border check point goes, everything necessary has been done, for the orderly compliance with the formalities. I am greatly thankful for the responsiveness of the Bulgarian people."

Gernot Erler: "There was not a single question which we posed to the Bulgarian officials which remained unanswered. And the answers were frank, too. We became convinced that rumors in the FRG about the situation in Bulgaria are absolutely false. It is not true, for instance, that the people are, in fact, expelled from the country and their property and money are taken. I repeat, that is definitely untrue: We were able to see it as it is. [no closing quotes as received]

Italian Parliamentarians Visit, Meet Leaders

Received by Zhivkov

AU2706184389 Sofia BTA in English
1741 GMT 27 Jun 89

[Text] Sofia, June 27 (BTA)—State Council President Mr Todor Zhivkov received the delegation of the Commission on Foreign Affairs of the Chamber of Deputies of Italy headed by the chairman of the commission Flaminio Piccolli. Mr Zhivkov expressed conviction that the visit of the delegation in Bulgaria will contribute to the broadening and further development of the bilateral relations.

The guests assessed as very useful and sincere their talks in Sofia and stressed that it is an important precondition for more intensive communication between Italy and Bulgaria, for strengthening of the friendship between their peoples.

The two sides expressed unanimous opinion that there exist opportunities for activation and deepening of the relations in the political, economic and cultural spheres. Considerable contribution to this end can be given by the Parliaments of the two countries.

It was pointed out during the talks that Bulgaria fulfills the Vienna accords. The president of the State Council said that this country innovates her legislation in accordance with the conclusive document adopted in the Austrian capital. The situation, after the application of the foreign passports and the Bulgarian citizenship laws, is used by Ankara for the fanning up of a wide anti-Bulgarian campaign. He expressed regret that certain circles in the West are susceptible to this campaign. Dwelling on the results of his recent meeting with Mr Mikhail Gorbachev, Mr Todor Zhivkov pointed out the principled coincidence of the aims and tasks of the restructuring in the two countries.

Mr Flaminio Piccolli said that speaking about the innovation in the socialist community it means the attitude taken by the states toward the future of mankind. We look with optimism at restructuring because it will have a favourable influence on the entire world, added the Italian parliamentary figure.

Mr Todor Zhivkov reiterated Bulgaria's adherence to the policy of peace, good-neighbourliness and cooperation, pursued also with regard to her relations with Turkey.

During the talk the Bulgaro-Italian relations were assessed as very good. Opportunities for their broadening were pointed out.

Mr Milko Balev, chairman of the Foreign Policy Commission with the National Assembly, also took part in the meeting.

Hold Talks With Mladenov

AU2706184089 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 27 Jun 89

[Text] On 27 June Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs, received the delegation of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Italian Chamber of Deputies led by Flaminio Piccolli, chairman of the commission. Bulgarian-Italian cooperation in the spheres of science, technology, and culture was discussed at the talks.

Meet With Other Officials

AU2806075689 Sofia BTA in English 2151 GMT 27 Jun 89

[Text] Sofia, June 27 (BTA)—The delegation of the Commission for Foreign Affairs of the Chamber of Deputies of Italy, headed by Mr Flaminio Piccolli, chairman of the commission, today had talks with responsible political figures at which the two sides confirmed their shared desire for the activation of bilateral relations and the strengthening of the positive trends in international life.

At the meetings they had with Mr Stanko Todorov, chairman of the National Assembly, Mr Milko Balev, chairman of the Foreign Policy Committee of the Bulgarian Parliament, Mr Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs, and Mr Andrey Lukanov, minister of foreign economic relations, the guests were informed in detail about the different aspects of the restructuring that is being implemented in Bulgaria and the policy of democratization in all spheres of social life.

In response to the interest shown, the Italian parliamentarians were familiarized with the present activity of the supreme legislative body, its role in the processes of innovation and with the ideas for changes in its activity within the context of the sweeping reform carried out in the Bulgarian society. Attention was focussed on the preparation of some bills and especially on the work on Bulgaria's new constitution which, along with other normative acts that have already entered into force, is to serve as a legal guarantee of the innovation.

At a meeting with the leader of the diplomacy of Bulgaria, the most important international problems were analysed and it was pointed out that it is necessary to further develop bilateral relations in the name of strengthening peace and security. The Bulgarian side analysed this country's policy in the Balkans and affirmed Bulgaria's will to continue to work for the promotion of cooperation and good-neighbourly relations in this region.

The changes in the Bulgarian economy will open new possibilities for promoting Bulgaro-Italian interaction—this was said at the meeting with Mr Andrey Lukanov. It was pointed out that the necessary political and juridical basis for the extension of bilateral cooperation and its advancement by making use of new forms already exists. I am getting ever more convinced that Bulgaria is an important part of the future of Europe, a member of the Italian parliamentary delegation said at a press conference this evening.

Before their departure, the guests expressed their optimism over the future of the relations between Bulgaria and Italy, the understanding that the restructuring in Bulgaria and the other socialist countries is important not for them only, but also for the future positive development of world affairs.

It was underlined that the changes in Bulgaria will make the bilateral relations more efficient, that the relations will become more and more cordial, that new possibilities for economic and cultural interaction will be opened. The Italian parliamentarians assessed today's talks with the Bulgarian state leader, Mr Todor Zhivkov, as fundamental and confirmed their desire to work so that the two countries get to know more about each other.

Atanasov Holds Meeting With CEMA Secretary

AU2706150189 Sofia BTA in English 1439 GMT 27 Jun 89

[Text] Sofia, June 27 (BTA)—Mr Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, received Mr Vyacheslav Sychev, secretary of the CMEA. They discussed questions in connection with the forthcoming 45th session of the CMEA, as well as other moments of the activity of the organizations.

The meeting was also attended by Mr Andrey Lukanov, chairman of the CMEA Executive Committee and permanent representative of Bulgaria in the organization.

Army Daily Reports Pact Commander's Arrival

AU2806105489 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 27 Jun 89 p 1

[Lieutenant Colonel Engineer Nikolay Panov report: "Strengthening Unity and Combat Cooperation"]

[Text] Army General Petr Lushev, commander in chief of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces, arrived in Bulgaria on 26 June on a short working visit.

He was met at Sofia Airport by Army General Dobri Dzhurov, member of the Politburo of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee and minister of national defense.

The following were also present: Colonel General Atanas Semerdzhiev, first deputy minister of national defense and chief of the General Staff of the Bulgarian Peoples Army; Col Gen Khristo Dobrev, first deputy minister of national defense; deputy ministers of national defense; and generals and officers.

Lieutenant General Mikhail Artemyev, assistant of the representative of the commander in chief of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces with the Bulgarian People's Army, and Igor Ponomarev, charge d'affaires at the Soviet Embassy in Bulgaria, also attended the welcoming ceremony.

Military attaches of the socialist countries were also present.

A meeting took place later between Army Gen Dobri Dzhurov and Army Gen Petr Lushev. The Minister of national defense greeted the guest and wished him a fruitful stay in Bulgaria. Army Gen Petr Lushev thanked him for the cordial reception and conveyed greetings from the Soviet minister of defense.

The talk was held in an atmosphere of traditional amicability and and constant striving to further consolidate the unity and combat cooperation between the Warsaw Pact Armies.

Bush Administration's East Europe Policy Viewed

AU2806163089 Sofia NARODNA MLADEZH in Bulgarian 26 Jun 89 p 4

[Chavdar Kiselinchev article: "Continuity With Its Own Accents"]

[Excerpts] We are still wondering what kind of foreign policy U.S. President Bush intends to conduct. We do not know in which direction the needle of his compass is pointing. It is evident that a certain continuity exists between the "late Reagan period" and the "early Bush era." At the same time, however, the White House is not only changing the style of its diplomacy, it has not only shifted its accents but has also introduced certain modifications. There is even more: The present U.S. leadership proposes that a new concept of international relations, in accordance with current changes and future developments, should be adopted.

It is true that the Republican administration continues to preach vigilance and caution, always focusing its attention upon the right wing of the U.S. political scene and never failing to coordinate its actions with it. It is also true that, in the last month, in contradiction with the prevailing predictions of an irresolute and mediocre leadership, Bush demonstrated his firm will and his ability to take advantage of political surprises, as well as his ambition to take the initiative in world affairs. [passage omitted]

Washington's unmistakable striving to meet Mikhail Gorbachev's challenge in the sphere of new political thinking is evident. The new U.S. Administration is simultaneously trying to prove that it does not sacrifice its strategy for the sake of tactics, that just like Moscow, it is capable of acting with elan and even of taking risks dictated by common sense. [passage omitted]

President Bush declared, in particular, that the doctrine of "containment" related to the so-called communist expansion has already completed its historical mission and belongs to the past, because international relations are now entering a new stage. This statement plays a major role in the foreign policy concept of the present U.S. Administration, but should not be interpreted in one sense only. On the one hand, the U.S. leadership declares that a basically new situation has emerged in East-West relations, and puts an end to the active pressure exerted from the outside upon the USSR and the other socialist countries, a pressure, which was supposed to provoke internal changes in those countries to the advantage of Western interests and in the direction of a Western political mode. On the other hand, Washington claims that it has won the "cold war" because communist ideology and the practice of socialism have allegedly lost their force of attraction and have no future. It is hardly appropriate to make such biased and unconfirmed statements under the circumstances of our present, complicated world, the more so, since the theory about victors and vanquished by no means fits in the structure of the new type of international relations which rejects all attempts of gaining advantages at each other's expense. [passage omitted]

The U.S. leadership correctly evaluates the fact that the political landscape in the heart of Europe has drastically changed. Internal reforms, as well as the resolute measures adopted by the USSR, aimed at a form of disarmament excluding the possibility of conducting aggressive actions, has changed and continues to change the attitude and intentions of the West Europeans toward the East. [passage omitted]

It is, precisely, against this background that George Bush's forthcoming visits to Poland and Hungary scheduled to take place in July 1989 should be evaluated. Naturally, these visits are part of Washington's selective approach to the East European countries, however they also demonstrate the White House's desire to actively participate in the European processes, by establishing the guidelines for a common Western policy in the spheres of credits, trade, technology transfer, and so forth. We are also justified in assuming that the U.S. Administration is well aware of the requirement that the processes of dynamic changes and transformations in Eastern Europe should proceed under the circumstances of international stability, undisturbed by inner political upheavals. This requirement applies equally to both the USSR and to the United States. In this context we could accept the president's notorious cautiousness as something positive. Along with this however, as numerous Western observers already pointed out, the dynamic of Soviet-American relations should not be intentionally sacrificed, especially considering the present, favorable chances of success both at the Vienna negotiations, and at the resumed U.S.-USSR dialogue on strategic and space weapons. To put it briefly, one should proceed carefully, but expediently.

Vaclavik Receives Warsaw Pact Chief Lushev

LD2806195489 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1700 GMT 28 Jun 89

[Text] Army General Petr Lushev, commander in chief of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact member states, arrived by air today in Czechoslovakia on a working visit. He met Army General Milan Vaclavik, the minister of national defense, to discuss the development of the current military and political situation in Europe. They stressed the positive impact of Soviet peace initiatives, the unilateral disarmament steps taken by the Warsaw Pact member states, and the proposals for the process of military detente and confidence-building and cooperation between nations. They noted that the combat and political training of the Czechoslovak People's Army are in keeping with the principles of defense sufficiency. Their talks confirmed an identity of views on the issues of common interests discussed.

Press Reports on Executions, Events in China

AU2606120189

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 23 June on page 7 carries a 600-word "Vladimir Divis, CTK, ZR"-signed Beijing dispatch entitled "Inadmissible Pressure; China Rejects Western Sanctions." The dispatch deals with the latest developments in China, quoting Premier Li Peng's criticism of Western sanctions against the PRC, as well as statements made by a spokesman for the PRC Ministry of Foreign Affairs at a press conference in Beijing on 22 June. The dispatch also contains the following passage: "Seven people were executed in Beijing on Thursday [22 June]; they had been charged with setting military trucks on fire, stealing military goods, and assailing Chinese soldiers during the recent unrest in Beijing. This was announced by the XINHUA agency.

"On Thursday [21 June], in Shanghai, capital punishment was carried out against three persons whom the court found guilty of having provoked an incident at the Shanghai railway station, in which damage of 3 million yuan was caused.

"In the meantime, the Shanghai people's court held public hearings with six other participants in the incident at the railway station, two of whom have been sentenced to life and the remaining four to prison terms of between 5 to 12 years."

Lecturer Comments on Students Unrest in PRC

AU2806151989

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 26 June on page 6 carries a 900-word interview with Alica Kubovska, candidate of sciences, lecturer of Czech at the Foreign Languages Institute in Beijing, by Vladimir Divis, RUDE PRAVO correspondent in Beijing, entitled "Students and Unrest." In the interview, the place and date of which are not given, Kubovska conveys her "personal observations and experience about the recent student demonstrations and unrest in the Chinese capital."

Kubovska says that before the declaration of martial law on 20 May, the institute was affected by the demonstrations because students either stayed away completely or were leaving the institute between classes. Students who did not join the strike, she says, were "criticized and verbally attacked by the so-called Independent Federation of Students," which is why some of them were visiting the lecturer in her apartment. Asked about her view of the motives of the students' protests, Kubovska replies that the students were "dissatisfied with the pace of reforms in the PRC, which, in the view of many students, is slow; with corruption; with deepening social differences; and with living conditions." She continues: "Initially, in my opinion, the aim of the majority really was to correct mistakes and shortcomings within the framework of the existing socialist system. The students also advocated the party's continued leading role in society. Later, however, events took a different course and antisocialist slogans appeared." Kubovska notes that the students she has met in China are poorly informed about events at home and abroad, which makes them "easy to influence." This fact, she adds, was "misused by the leaders of the so-called Independent Federation of Students, who—quite easily and quickly, thanks to their broader horizons and contacts—won authority among their fellow students." Kubavska also tells Divis that she never saw any barricades being put up on university campuses, as reported by Western media, and that she also does not know of a single case of "an armed soldier setting foot on academic land."

Fojtik, GDR's Loeffler Discuss Church Policy

AU2706132789 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 23 Jun 89 p 2

[CTK report: "Discussion of Issues Pertaining to Church policy"]

[Text] Prague—Jan Fojtik, member of the Presidium and secretary of the Czechoskovak Communist Party Central Committee, on Thursday [22 June], received Kurt Loeffler, state secretary for GDR church affairs, who is in Prague at the invitation of the CSSR Government's Church Affairs Secretariat.

The friendly chat, on the agenda of which were topical issues of the two countries' church policy, was attended by Vladimir Janku, director of the CSSR Government's Church Affairs Secretariat and deputy minister. Helmut Ziebart, GDR ambassador to the CSSR was present at the chat.

Stepan Meets With MSZMP's Mihaly Jasso

AU2406165789 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 22 Jun 89 p 2

[Text] Bratislava (CTK)—Miroslav Stepan, member of the CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party] Central Committee Presidium and leading secretary of the Prague CPCZ City Committee, received Mihaly Jasso, member of the MSZMP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Budapest MSZMP City Committee, in Bratislava on Wednesday [21 June].

On the agenda of their talks—which were held within the framework of the agreement on friendship between the two party organizations, and which were linked on the results of the talks in Budapest past February—was the concretization of contacts between the sister cities. The ranking functionaries of the Prague and Budapest City Committees briefed one another on political developments in their countries, on the activity of the party organizations in the capitals of the CSSR and the Hungarian People's Republic, and exchanged experience from the implementation of the restructuring of the economic and social life.

The friendly meeting was attended by Stefan Rybar, member of the CPSL [Slovak Communist Party] Central Committee Presidium and leading secretary of the Bratislava CPSL City Committee, and the ambassadors of the two countries, Miklos Barity and Vlastimil Ehrenberger.

Ignac Janak, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and first secretary of the CPSL Central Committee, met with the ranking party representatives of Budapest and Prague on the same day.

Portuguese Communist Party Leader Pays Visit

Jakes, Lenart Receive Leader

LD2706231189 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1930 GMT 27 Jun 89

[Text] Comrade Milos Jakes held talks in Prague today with Alvaro Cunhal, general secretary of the Communist Party of Portugal, who is in Czechoslovakia on a short official visit at the invitation of the CPCZ Central Committee. The two representatives informed each other about topical issues of the activity of their parties. They expressed the conviction that the relations of cooperation between the two parties will continue to develop further.

Milos Jakes acquainted the guest with the current tasks of the CPCZ in implementing the strategy of speeding up the socioeconomic development of our societies through economic and social restructuring. He described the course of the party's preparation for its 18th congress. He gave a concrete explanation of the course of economic reform, the deepening of socialist democracy, and the flow of public information.

Alvaro Cunhal spoke about the internal political situation in Portugal, and about the implementation of the conclusions of 12th Congress of the Communist Party of Portugal, which took place in December last year. He praised the possibility of exchanging views on the topical issues of development of socialist society in Czechoslovakia, on new developments, and their international importance.

The two representatives also exchanged views on current issues of the international political situation, in particular the international communist and workers' movement.

Also Jozef Lenart, Politburo member and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, held talks today with the Portuguese guest. The two representatives also signed a protocol on cooperation between the CPCZ and the Communist Party of Portugal.

Janak Receives Leader

LD2806142489 Prague CTK in English 1237 GMT 28 Jun 89

[Text] Bratislava June 28 (CTK)—Portuguese Communist Party General Secretary Alvaro Cunhal was received here today by Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium member, Slovak Communist Party First Secretary Ignac Janak, who informed him of the economic and social development in Slovakia.

Ignac Janak told the Portuguese guest also about the efforts of the working people to take an active part in the process of restructuring and democratization of society, and pointed out the tasks of the party members before the 18th Czechoslovak Communist Party Congress.

Alvaro Cunhal explained his country's position in the EEC, pointing out its uneven development in relation to other members.

Australian Parliamentarians Arrive for Visit

AU2706155889 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 26 Jun 89 p 2

[CTK report: "Australian Deputies in the CSSR"]

[Text] Prague—An Australian parliamentary delegation headed by the head of the Senate, Kerry Walter Sibraa, arrived for an official visit in the CSSR on Saturday [24 June]. The Australian deputies were welcomed at Prague's Ruzyne Airport by Jozef Simuth, deputy chairman of the CSSR Federal Assembly. Lawry Wilson Herron [name as published], Australian ambassador to the CSSR, was present.

Greens Mistakenly Let Into Nuclear Plant

AU1506171089 Vienna DER STANDARD in German 15 Jun 89 p 5

["Kaba" report: "Anti-Nuclear Power Plant Activists Taken for Someone Else in CSSR"]

[Excerpt] Vienna—The nationalized Austrian steel company VOeST involuntarily helped an Austrian delegation get a friendly reception at the Temelin Nuclear Power Plant in the CSSR. Because they were taken for a VOeST negotiation team, the delegation of Greens activists, lead by floor leader Andreas Wabl and People's Party Deputy Othmar Karas, who had entered the CSSR on official passports and protested against the nuclear power plant in Temelin, were permitted to meet with the enterprise management of the nuclear power plant.

Othmar Karas reported that all concerns of the Austrian population regarding the nuclear power plant close to the border were discussed in a 2-hour talk with the manager and his deputy. "It turned out," Karas said, "that VOeST had held negotiations on steel constructions in the morning."

There were also talks by the Austrian Power Corporation with the Temelin enterprise management on potential deliveries of electricity.

Half a year ago Nationalized Industries Minister Rudolf Streicher denied any involvement of VOeST in the Temelin plant. The VOeST machine building holding company does not know anything about negotiations in Temelin, either. For quite some time no components have been delivered, there were only negotiations about analysis and measuring instruments in Prague, it was said. The Austrian Power Corporation also denies any negotiations with Temelin.

Yesterday the CSSR Embassy prohibited a parliamentary group session scheduled by the Austrian Greens in the CSSR. Among other things, the agenda of the meeting in Budejovice would have contained another visit to Temelin. Now the planned Greens initiative "that Europe does not stop at the Iron curtain," now ends in Drosendorf at the CSSR border. [passage omitted]

'Tussle' With Poland, Austria Over Container

AU2606120389

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 21 June on page 2 carries a 1,000-word article by Josef Jirek entitled "Container Without a Recipient?" The article is published in response to readers' letters inquiring about the fate of an Austria-bound Polish container with unspecified "chemical substances," which has been "stuck" at Brno railway station since November 1988, because the Austrian importer (the Industrieabfallverwertung firm in Vienna) has not received a permit from the Austrian authorities to take the shipment across the Austrian border, and because the Polish sender (the Polish firm Hartwig) refuses to take it back. The article criticizes the Polish firm for having "concealed the true content of the container" and for having filled the chemicals into "worn-out and sometimes even leaky barrels" so that they had to be transferred to new barrels to prevent harm to people and the environment.

The article quotes a Czechoslovak State Railroads official as having told the Brno party daily ROVNOST that the "railroads have exhausted all possibilities" for sending the container either back to Poland or to Austria, and that they have therefore appealed to the CSSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs for assistance. The railroads have reportedly been promised that the collection of the shipment would be "urged through diplomatic channels and discussed in bilateral talks with the Austrian or, if appropriate, Polish side."

Jirek concludes his article by saying: "By 20 June, when this manuscript was signed to press, the situation remained unchanged. One thing is clear, however: the Old Maid is still in our hands. It is apparent that the least that should be done is to amend the regulations governing the taking over of shipments, including proper control of their content, origin, covering, and the like. Let us hope that the instructive tussle over the container will be resolved as soon as possible."

On 24 June, in the "From Letters to the Editor" column on page 3, RUDE PRAVO carries a 200-word letter by Ivan Kulhanek, director of the press section of the CSSR ministry of foreign affairs, which responds to the earlier RUDE PRAVO article. Kulhanek notes that the issue of the container was raised during the visit of Pavel Sadovsky, first CSSR deputy minister of foreign affairs, to Austria on 15 and 16 June, and continues: "Comrade Sadovsky drew the attention of Alois Mock, Austrian minister of foreign affairs, and Thomas Klestil, general director of the Austrian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, to the fact that the 'container affair' has not only aroused the concern of the people of Brno, but of the entire Czechoslovak public. He asked them to inform M. Flemming, minister for family affairs and environmental protection, about this so that she may take up the matter as soon as possible and attend to remedial action. Alois Mock and Thomas Klestil both promised effective assistance soon."

Polish OPZZ Spokesman Criticizes Solidarity

AU2606130989 Prague PRACE in Czech 23 Jun 89 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Franciszek Ciemny, press spokesman for Poland's National Trade Union Confederation and chief editor of the weekly ZWIAZKOWIEC, by PRACE staff journalist Richard Pokorny: "Poland After the Elections"—place, date not given]

[Text] The first half of this year in the Polish People's Republic was marked by important domestic political

events, which culminated with the elections to the country's supreme legislative body. We discussed some problems pertaining to the general developments with Comrade F. Ciemny, and our first question was: What role did the roundtable talks play, talks that were awaited with unprecedented interest?

[Ciemny] In connection with the "roundtable," in Poland nowadays one increasingly hears the question whether one did not hurry unnecessarily, whether the roundtable's conclusions are really a sufficient basis for all changes that are contemplated in both the democratization of society's life and in the economic sphere. And when I speak about changes, at the moment I am interested in nothing other than how they are being received by normal Polish citizens, for whom the economic sphere is of decisive importance. To put it concisely: following the "roundtable," they expect their own table to be filled, but this theme was discussed in the least concrete way. There were slogans repeating the well-known truths, but no one wanted to pledge anything, and it was precisely Solidarity which sidestepped taking a stand on any specific issue.

[Pokorny] As representatives of the National Trade Union Confederation [OPZZ]—did you agree with the procedures?

[Ciemny] Absolutely not. On the contrary, we probably behaved in the strangest possible manner, because—for example—one day we submitted for discussion a proposal concerning the housing construction, which stated that every Polish family should have its own apartment by the year 1995, or at least the opportunity to acquire it soon. The other participants accused us of demagoguery, but when asked when we will be able to fulfill that promise, no one wanted to say anything. No one even wanted to discuss this problem, and therefore the final document does not contain even only an approximate deadline, which would give hope to those waiting for apartments.

[Pokorny] How, then, do you assess the results of the "roundtable" talks, which society looked forward to with such great hopes?

[Ciemny] As positive, in any case, because decisions were made on important problems, be it, for example, elections, certain changes in the future parliament, but also the starting point for introducing pluralism regarding political life. However, at the same time we have to admit that the initial euphoria was replaced by sobriety, and society, as if it was assessing the conclusions at a distance because the overall moral and political situation, has not improved and considerable problems continue, especially in the economic sphere.

[Pokorny] The opposition won a distinct victory in the elections; from what does this situation stem?

[Ciemny] During the election campaign I visited dozens of plants, villages, and towns, and in all discussions one thing always cropped up: Let us not talk about what and how it was, or what and how things will be, but mainly let there be a change... But nobody was able to say concretely how. Similarly, asked why they wanted to vote for Solidarity, they could not give a concrete answer. They knew neither its program nor its representatives, but they wanted a change. Thus, what was involved was voting against the existing state of affairs without any idea about the future. And regarding the results? The distribution of forces is quite new. The entrance of the opposition into the legal political arena should also bring with itself the appropriate distribution of responsibility, but we are witnessing the fact that, whereas Solidarity is taking seats in the Sejm and the Senate, it does not want to take part in the work of the government, thus not wishing to bear the responsibility for the implementation of policy. In no way does it conceal the fact that what it wants is to sort of blackmail the government, so that it can speak about its incompetence and stress what it could do if it were to take over all the power. Thus, the voters are now waiting for the promised changes to be translated into life, but what is involved are no longer the emotions which Solidarity has always been able to arouse until now. Now it will be concrete policy, concrete results, and deeds that can be easily verified. Bombastic and empty phrases are not effective for long.

[Pokorny] What has changed in the OPZZ's work since the legalization of the Solidarity trade union movement?

[Ciemny] If we speak about Solidarity now, then not as a trade union movement, but as an important political force. For the time being it seems that it is not interested in any extensive trade union work, even though further organizations are being set up in enterprises and plants. The majority of its functionaries also have no intention of returning to the everyday demanding and difficult work of trade unionists in factories and other facilities. Because they all want to be politicians. At the same time, the situation in enterprises is complex, production- and wage-related issues are most acute here, issues which the OPZZ has been actively helping to resolve from the very outset. In fact, the OPZZ is the only organization which addresses this problem. There were also many people who predicted that our trade union will disintegrate after Solidarity's registration, that our membership base will catastrophically diminish. Nothing like that has happened; we still have 7 million members, and we are getting ready to resolve new problems, of which there will always be plenty.

[Pokorny] Would it be possible today to predict the country's development in the months and years to come?

[Ciemny] That would be difficult, but I would like to add the following: I often return to the "roundtable legacy"—as I call the stack of material which was discussed. And I remember that some official representatives were asserting that we will need 2-3 years to live better. In my

opinion we will need at least 10 years for the society to make at least one distinct step forward. In order for this to happen we will need an immense effort and self-denial, but this is the only way to a better future. At the same time, I am convinced that the OPZZ, which has already showed a great effort to improve the lives of the Polish working people, will become a great help on this complex road.

Changes in Prague Party Organization

AU2706162489 Prague VECERNI PRAHA in Czech 20 Jun 89 pp 1, 2

["vp"-signed report: "Preparation for Work and Life; Eighth Plenary Session of the Prague CPCZ City Committee"]

[Excerpts] Prague (vp)—The eighth session of the [Prague] Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] City Committee, held yesterday, discussed the current tasks of Prague education. The session was attended by Jan Fojtik, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee; Jana Synkova, minister of education, youth, and physical training of the Czech Socialist Republic; and other officials. The session was opened by Miroslav Stepan, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and leading secretary of the CPCZ City Committee. [passage omitted]

For reasons of health, the session released Alois Gresl at his own request from the posts of secretary, member of the Secretariat, member of the plenum, and chairman of the Youth Commission of the CPCZ City Committee. In this connection, it highly assessed his contribution over many years to the implementation of CPCZ policy in the Prague party organization and to the development of the socialist society. Frantisek Bartacek, until now leading secretary of the CPCZ Municipal District Committee in Prague-4, was elected to these posts by secret ballot. Furthermore, the session elected by secret ballot Ctirad Frcka, until now chief editor of MLADA FRONTA, to the post of secretary, member of the Secretariat, and deputy chairman of the Ideology Commission of the CPCZ City Committee. [passage omitted]

Further on CPSL Session, Cadre Changes

AU2606134889 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 23 Jun 89 pp 1, 2

[Unattributed report: "Waging a More Active Struggle for the Fulfillment of Resolutions and the Tasks of Restructuring; Session of the CPSL Central Committee"]

[Excerpts] Bratislava—A session of the Communist Party of Slovakia [CPSL] Central Committee was held in Bratislava yesterday.

The session was attended by a delegation of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee led by Jozef Lenart, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee. [passage omitted]

The session was opened by Ignac Janak, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and first secretary of the CPSL Central Committee. Following the election of working commissions he submitted, in accordance with resolutions of the 14th CPCZ Central Committee session and of the CPSL Central Committee Presidium, proposals for some cadre changes in party bodies.

A report reviewing the implementation of CPCZ Central Committee and CPSL Central Committee resolutions on scientific-technical development, metallurgy, engineering, and the electrotechnical industry was delivered by Comrade Vladimir Lexa, deputy premier of the Slovak Socialist Republic [SR] and chairman of the Slovak Commission for Planning and Scientific-Technical Development. (The report is published on the inside pages)

The session continued with a discussion. [passage omitted] A total of 14 comrades took the floor during the discussion. The CPSL Central Committee discussed cadre proposals. By a secret ballot it released Comrade Ivan Knotek from the post of member of the CPSL Central Committee Presidium and member of the Commission for the Preparation of the [CPSL] Congress, in connection with his election as member of the Secretariat and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee. It recommended to the Central Committee Presidium of the Slovak SR National Front to agree to his being released from the post of premier of the Slovak SR.

At the 14th session of the CPCZ Central Committee, Comrade Miloslav Hruskovic was released at his own request from the post of candidate member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium. At its session yesterday, the CPSL Central Committee, too, complied with Comrade Hruskovic's request and released him from the post of member of the Presidium, member of the Secretariat, and secretary of the CPSL Central Committee, as well as from the post of chairman of the CPSL Central Committee Economic Commission, in connection with his retirement.

The session elected Comrade Pavel Bolvansky as member of the Presidium, member of the Secretariat, and secretary of the CPSL Central Committee, as well as member of the Commission for the Preparation of the CPSL Congress. At the same time it released him from the post of member of the CPSL Central Committee Commission for the Creation and Protection of the Environment.

It elected Comrade Pavel Hrivnak, candidate member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium, as member of the CPSL Central Committee Presidium and member of

the Commission for the Preparation of the CPSL Congress. In harmony with the resolution of the 14th session of the CPCZ Central Committee, it recommended to the Central Committee Presidium of the Slovak SR National Front to agree to his being appointed to the post of premier of the Slovak SR.

It elected Comrade Vladimir Lexa as member of the CPSL Central Committee Economic Commission.

Comrade Ignac Janak conveyed thanks to Comrade Ivan Knotek for his work in the CPSL Central Committee Presidium and at the head of the Slovak SR Government. He wished him much success in his new responsible position. He spoke appreciatively of Comrade Miloslav Hruskovic's long years of work in the CPSL Central Committee leadership and about his active part in the solution of political and socioeconomic tasks concerning the development of Slovakia and our society at large. On this occasion he presented to Comrade Hruskovic a letter of thanks from the CPSL Central Committee.

The CPSL Central Committee unanimously approved the Standpoint of the CPSL Central Committee on the Review of the Implementation of CPCZ Central Committee and CPSL Central Committee Resolutions on Scientific-Technical Development, Metallurgy, Engineering, and the Electrotechnical Industry. (The standpoint is published on page 4)

Comrade Ignac Janak spoke in conclusion of the CPSL Central Committee session.

The session ended with the singing of the International.

Hrivnak Replaces Knotek as Slovak Premier
AU2706160189 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 23 Jun 89 p 1

[CTK report: "Meeting of the Presidium of the Slovak National Council; New Premier of the Government of the Slovak Socialist Republic Sworn In"]

[Excerpt] Bratislava—The Presidium of the Slovak National Council held a meeting in Bratislava yesterday [22 June]. The meeting was presided over by Viliam Salgovic, member of the Presidium of the CPSL [Slovak Communist Party] Central Committee and chairman of the Slovak National Council. The deliberations were attended by Ignac Janak, member of the Presidium of the CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party] Central Committee, first secretary of the CPSL Central Committee, and chairman of the National Front of the SSR [Slovak Socialist Republic].

In accordance with Article 131, paragraph 1 of the Constitutional Law 143/1968 on the Czechoslovak Federation, the Presidium of the Slovak National Council accepted the resignation of SSR Premier Ivan Knotek. The Presidium expressed to him its sincere comradely thanks for his work, wishing him much success in the post of CPCZ Central Committee secretary, to which he was elected at the 14th CPCZ Central Committee session.

The Presidium of the Slovak National Council—on the proposal of the CPCZ Central Committee, the CPSL Central Committee, and the Presidium of the Central Committee of the SSR National Front, submitted by Ignac Janak—appointed Pavel Hrivnak as SSR Premier in accordance with Article 122, paragraph 1, letter a) of the Constitutional Law 143/1968 on the Czechoslovak Federation.

After the meeting of the Presidium of the Slovak National Council, the newly appointed SSR Premier Pavel Hrivnak was sworn in by Viliam Salgovic, chairman of the Slovak National Council, in the Federation Hall at Bratislava Castle.

The solemn act was attended by members of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium—Ignac Janak, first secretary of the CPSL Central Committee; CPCZ Central Committee Secretaries Ivan Knotek and Jozef Lenart; members of the CPSL Central Committee Presidium Pavel Bolvansky, Ivan Gonko, Elena Litvajova, Ondrej Saling, and Gejza Slapka; heads of CPSL Central Committee departments; CSSR Deputy Premier Karel Julis; deputy chairmen and other members of the Presidium of the Slovak National Council; deputy premiers and ministers of the SSR Government. [passage omitted]

Communique on 22 Jun Government Session
AU2706132589 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 23 Jun 89 p 1

[CTK report: "CSSR Government Session"]

[Text] Prague—At its plenary session on Thursday [22 June], the CSSR Government discussed a supplement to the comprehensive report on the organizational restructuring of the national economy's production-technical, scientific-research, and distribution base into state enterprises, which had been submitted to the preceding government session.

It decided to set up the Zbrojovka Vsetin state enterprise by setting it apart from the General Engineering Plants economic production unit, because this enterprise avails itself of prerequisites for self-financing and long-term independent development, as well as the TOS [Machine Tool Factory] Vrchlabi state enterprise, which, until now, has been a plant operating under the TOS Rakovnik concern enterprise. This decision stems from the labor collective's individual proposal and is based on the ability of the plant's independent development.

Having once again considered all different standpoints and, above all, the fact that the enterprises of what has until now been the Unichem Pardubice economic production unit do not have any major technological links

and can operate as essentially independent entities, the CSSR Government decided to divide the rest of this economic production unit—three state enterprises were set apart from it at an earlier date—into an additional nine state enterprises. These are: Dyes and Varnishes Prague; Sokolov Chemical Works; Urx Works Valasske Mezirici; Tonaso Nestemice; Moravian Chemical Works Ostrava; Chema Pardubice; Cheming Pardubice; Research Institute for Synthetic Resins and Varnishes Pardubice; and Color Varnishes Uherske Hradiste.

The organizational arrangement of the spa industry has been postponed until the restructuring of the nonproduction sphere. Effective from 1 July 1989, only enterprises of production nature, the establishment of which had been approved earlier, will be set apart from the existing Balnea and Slovakoterma economic production units. The organizational arrangement of the Slovak film industry has also been postponed until the restructuring of the nonproduction sphere and the organizational arrangement of the Czechoslovak film industry as a whole.

The CSSR Government discussed a report on the course and results of the 131st session of the CEMA Executive Committee, held in Moscow on 16-18 May, and approved the Czechoslovak permanent representative's work at this session.

It further discussed preparations for the 45th CEMA session and the 132d session of its Executive Committee, approved the composition of the Czechoslovak delegation, and principles for its work. It also voiced agreement with the principles of the Czechoslovak delegation's course of action at talks with the DPRK on an adjustment of the exchange rate between the Czechoslovak koruna and the DPRK's won and on the coefficient of conversion in the sphere of noncommercial payments to the benefit of the Czechoslovak koruna.

The proposal for an increase in the retail price of diesel fuel and for the abolition of limits on supplies of diesel fuel and gasoline to socialist organizations, which was submitted by the State Planning Commission and the Federal Price Office, proceeds from the need to create for socialist organizations the possibility for free fuel purchases while simultaneously increasing the price of diesel fuel as a key economic instrument. Following a discussion, the government approved this proposal, while at the same time stipulating that the higher retail price of diesel fuel will not be projected into the wholesale prices of products and services, with the exception of transport tariffs for organizations within the framework of the adjustment planned for 11 January 1990. The retail price of gasoline remains unchanged.

The CSSR Government discussed and took note of the draft main principles of the social program for esthetic development. The program sums up in a comprehensive manner the principles of Marxist-Leninist esthetic education and stresses its irreplaceable role in all spheres of work and social relations. It covers the entire institutional base of society, especially the family, the school, the field of culture, mass information media, social and special interest organizations of the National Front, and production departments. The program will serve as long-term target orientation, which government departments and organizations will project into individual stages of realization.

The CSSR Government approved a report on the results of socialist competition for the Banner of K. Gottwald, the Banner of Soviet Miners, and the Red Banner of the CSSR Government and the Central Trade Union Council organized on the occasion of the Day of Miners and Power Industry Workers as well as a report on the results for the economic year 1989 of the socialist competition for the Banner of Ore Mining, organized in the department of metallurgy, engineering, and electrotechnical industry.

The government took note of reports on rationalization changes arising from the rules of the economic mechanism for small state enterprises of local production and services and on the state of preparations for the introduction of the new economic mechanism effective 1 January 1990.

Fuel Price, Government Changes Explained

AU2706131289 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 23 Jun 89 p 2

[Unattributed report: "From a News Conference on the CSSR Government Session"]

[Text] At a news conference held after the government session [on 22 June], Deputy Minister Jaromir Matejka, secretary of the Government Committee for Planned National Economic Management, briefed journalists on a supplement to the organizational restructuring, which the federal government discussed yesterday. As he said, with the supplement the government approved the definitive rules for the verification of the so-called associated enterprise, which expands the possibilities for enterprises to team up and pool their resources. The associated enterprise can have the status of a juridical person, but in no case is it a substitution for the intermediary tier of management as it has no legal powers vis-a-vis the state enterprises which have formed it. Quite to the contrary, the council of directors determines the subject of business of the associated enterprise.

Jaroslav Zak, CSSR deputy premier and chairman of the State Planning Commission, then familiarized journalists with the decision of the Federal Government to raise the retail price of diesel and heating fuel to Kcs7.50 per liter from 1 July. Limits on supplies of diesel fuel and gasoline to socialist organizations will be abolished by the same date. The new price of diesel fuel has been derived from the world ratio between gasoline and diesel fuel prices. In Czechoslovakia, the ratio has been 1 to 0.7. It will now change to a ratio of 1 to 0.94, which

represents an increase by 36.5 percent. Jaromir Zak anticipated journalists' questions by explaining himself why this adjustment was not effected by lowering the price of gasoline. The reason is plain—we would not be able to safeguard the higher imports of crude oil which a higher consumption of gasoline would necessitate. However, the main reason for the increase in the price of the diesel fuel and for the abolition of consumption limits is the fact that the existing price did not provide an incentive for enterprises and organizations to use fuels economically.

As Jaromir Zak said, the price adjustment will not have a palpable impact on the outlays of the population. To a decisive degree it will affect enterprises and organizations. It is understandable that budget-funded and production organizations will be unable to offset the impact of the price increase on their own. This is why 75 percent of the impact will be offset by plan adjustments or, where appropriate, by relief from levies or by a system of subsidies. Its impact on mass public transport, health care, education, and social services will be offset fully from the state budget.

In connection with the adjustment of the price of diesel fuel Jan Stejskal, CSSR minister of finance, informed journalists that the government will attend to it that the price increase does not become an inflationary impulse and that it does not trigger a chain reaction in the form of higher wholesale prices of products and services.

Miroslav Pavel, head of the press and documentation section of the Office of CSSR Government Presidium, replied to questions about the reasons for changes in the government and for the increase in the number of government members and deputy premiers, about the difference between a first deputy premier and a deputy premier, and about the spheres of competence of individual CSSR deputy premiers:

"The reasons for changes in the CSSR Government can be divided into two basic groups.

"First, they were called forth by the fact that the 14th session of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee elected Ivan Knotek, CSSR deputy premier and premier of the Slovak Socialist Republic [SR], as secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, which is why he resigned from his government posts. Today the Presidium of the Slovak National Council appointed Pavel Hrivnak, until now first deputy federal premier and chairman of the State Commission for Scientific-Technical and Investment Development, as premier of the Slovak SR. The leadership of this commission has been entrusted to Academician Karel Julis, who was in charge of the Federal Ministry of Metallurgy, Engineering, and Electrotechnical Industry. Ladislav Vodrazka has been appointed to this post.

"The second reason for changes was the urgent need to reinforce the managerial activity of the government in the preparation and further development of the economic reform. Until now, the leadership of the Government Committee for Planned National Economic Management has been coupled with the post of chairman of the State Planning Commission. Following the government reorganization, First Deputy Premier Bohumil Urban will deal exclusively with this activity. In addition to being a real reinforcement of this sector of work, this can also be understood as an increase in the political importance which the CSSR Government ascribes to economic reform. This is also why the number of government members was increased by one.

"Jaromir Zak, who has until now been government member in charge of the Federal Price Office, has been appointed as deputy premier and chairman of the State Planning Commission. Alfred Sebek has assumed his place at the head of the Federal Price Office.

"The spheres of competence of individual deputy premiers will be delineated by a government resolution but it is possible to say, without anticipating events, that CSSR First Deputy Premier Matej Lucan will be entrusted with monitoring and coordinating activity in the sector of mass information and propaganda media, exhibitions, and church policy and that, in agreement with CSSR deputy premiers and premiers of the Czech and Slovak SRs, he will perform coordinating functions in the sectors of education, culture, and health care.

"Bohumil Urban, CSSR first deputy premier and chairman of the Government Committee for Planned National Economic Management, will be entrusted with the management, coordination, and control of work connected with transition to the new economic mechanism, with the continuous perfection of this mechanism, with the formation of relations between the state and enterprises, as well as with the task of forming a single executive center and its individual components. He chairs the Government Committee for Planned National Economic Management.

"CSSR Deputy Premier Karel Julis will chair the State Commission for Scientific-Technical and Investment Development.

"CSSR Deputy Premier Jaromir Zak will chair the State Planning Commission.

"CSSR Deputy Premier Jaromir Obzina will continue to act as the standing representative of the CSSR in CEMA, will supervise the activity of the working group for the comprehensive securing of the CSSR's participation in the international division of labor, will be in charge of the system for increasing the qualifications of senior managerial personnel, and will continue to chair the Czechoslovak section of several joint commissions for economic and scientific-technical cooperation.

"CSSR Deputy Premier Ladislav Vodrazka will be in charge of the Federal Ministry of Metallurgy, Engineering, and Electrotechnical Industry.

"The premiers of the two national governments—Frantisek Pitra for the Czech SR and Pavel Hrivnak for the Slovak SR—continue to be deputy federal premiers.

"The difference between a first deputy premier and a deputy premier is that a first deputy premier represents the premier, if entrusted by him to do so."

Federal Assembly By-Election Result Declared
AU2406171189 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 20 Jun 89 p 2

[CTK report: "A By-Election"]

[Text] Prague—On Monday [19 June], in Prague, the Central Election Commission of the National Front held a session. It discussed a report by the Czech Election Commission of the National Front on the by-election in constituency of the CSSR Federal Assembly Chamber of People no. 133, Vsetin.

In the above mentioned constituency, one National Front candidate was nominated and registered by the district election commission. The names of 46,937 voters were registered on the voters' list and 91.54 percent of the voters took part in the election. 41,460 voters voted for the National Front candidate, that is, 96.62 percent of the overall number of returned valid votes.

In harmony with law no. 44/71, on elections to the Federal Assembly, Vaclav Vaclavik was elected as deputy of the CSSR Federal Assembly Chamber of People in constituency no. 133, Vsetin. The Central Election Commission of the National Front decided to submit all the documents on the election of the deputy to the Mandate and Immunity Committee of the CSSR Federal Assembly Chamber of People.

Pitra Addresses Czech National Council
AU2606142889 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 23 Jun 89 pp 1, 2

[Marie Koenigova, Daniela Mannova report: "On the State Closing Account; Session of the Czech National Council"]

[Excerpts] Prague (from our correspondents)—The state closing account of the Czech Socialist Republic [SR] for 1988 was approved by deputies to the Czech National Council [CNR] at their 15th meeting in the Palace of Culture in Prague on Thursday [22 July].

Jiri Nikodym, minister of finance, prices, and wages of the Czech SR, spoke about the main item on the agenda. He said that the CNR had approved the 1988 budget with revenues and expenditures of Kcs165.3 billion. In the course of the year, it was necessary to project into it adjustments arising from changes in the state plan, and from austerity measures approved by the CSSR and the Czech SR Governments, as a result of which the volume of the budget declined to Kcs163.7 billion. [passage omitted]

The balance of the state budget could be achieved only by an extraordinary appropriation of Kcs1.3 billion from the federal budget, which was approved by the Federal Assembly on Tuesday [20 June]. [passage omitted] Frantisek Pitra, premier of the Czech SR, said that the predominantly extensive development of the Czech economy continued even last year. Intensification processes did not establish themselves sufficiently and the planned prerequisites for efficiency growth were not achieved. Even the assessment of the first 5 months of this year does not end up on a too optimistic note, if we look at it from the viewpoint of meeting demand on domestic market, the ability to assert oneself on the demanding foreign markets, the quality of production, the development and structure of inventories, the standard of supplier-user relations, and balanced external relations. This is why the federal and national governments adopted some measures, which, admittedly, are not popular, but which are inevitable. We cannot afford any longer that government departments, but also national committees, come up with ever new demands on the state budget. We must step up economic pressure and incentives to achieve that the planned targets in reducing production costs are met.

In connection with the situation on the domestic market, Comrade Pitra stressed the categorical imperative to maintain basic proportions in the development of wages, and to secure that wages are pegged more directly to work results. This is why the decision was made not to permit in the course of the year any exemptions from or changes in the regulation of wage resources and to penalize, by means of an extra levy, organizations which violated the course which was set by the government with respect to the payment of special compensations and bonuses at the end of last year. [passage omitted]

After the meeting, the CNR Presidium met with Josef Kempny in the chair. It called for by-elections for the CNR for constituency No. 38, Nymburk, and for the South Moravia Regional National Committee for constituency No. 137, Znojmo. It declared the CNR spring session closed effective 30 June.

Pitra Visits Scientific-Technical Society
LD2606211689 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1930 GMT 26 jun 89

[Text] Frantisek Pitra, member of the CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party] Central Committee Presidium and Czech premier, today visited the Czech Council of the Czechoslovak Scientific and Technical Society. In discussion with its leading officials, Frantisek Pitra spoke about the directions in which attention should be

focused in the period of restructuring, and during implementation of the necessary structural changes in industry and during the unavoidable retraining of some employees.

Czechs 'Insist' on Implementing Dam Contract

LD2606175689 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1630 GMT 26 Jun 89

[Text] The Czechoslovak and Hungarian representatives for the construction of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros dam project met in Budapest today. Our correspondent Tomas Borec reports on their talks.

[Borec] More than 1 month has elapsed since the time of halting the Nagymaros barrage by the Hungarian Government. Documents justifying this step were handed today by Laszlo Udveri, the Hungarian Government representative, at the Czechoslovak Embassy in Budapest. At the same time, he also enclosed a letter from Peter Medgyessy, deputy Hungarian premier, for Pavel Hrivnak, deputy federal premier. The letter recommends terms of further conduct, the establishment of a commission of specialists to investigate hydrological, geological, and seismic problems, as well as a proposal that the Czechoslovak side should also hand over its documentation on the results of the investigations.

At the talks between the government representatives, the Czechoslovak side gave assurances that it would make maximum possible efforts to study and discuss the proposals of the Hungarian side.

With regard to the matter of submitting the documentation, Vladimir Lokvenc, our chief representative, noted that the required documentation is known to the Hungarian side; it is part of the joint design documentation. He stressed that the Czechoslovak Government and the Federal Assembly insist on the implementation of the contract concluded on 16 September 1977.

Two Charter 77 Dissidents Go on Trial

AU2906111189 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 27 Jun 89 p 2

["sd"-signed report in the "Per Teletype, Mail, Telephone..." column]

[Text] The trial of twice convicted Charter 77 signatory Frantisek Starek, 35, of Teplice, and his common-law wife Iva Vojtkova of Ceska Trebova, began in the district court in Usti nad Orlici on Monday [26 June]. The accused is charged with having collected, out of hostility for the socialist social system and the state system of the Republic, documents from various persons, the content of which he altered, and produced from them printed matter with antisocialist orientation, which he reproduced on a duplicating machine and disseminated. He engaged in this activity from at least 1987 until his arrest on 23 February 1989. I. Vojtkova is accused of actively helping F. Starek in this.

National Front Foreign Aid Figures Reported

AU2406171789 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 20 Jun 89 pp 1, 2

[CTK report: "Support For the Conclusions of the 14th CPCZ Central Committee Session; From the Presidium of the CSSR National Front Central Committee"]

[Excerpts] Prague—At its meeting on Monday [19 June], the Presidium of the CSSR National Front Central Committee, which was chaired by Comrade Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee and chairman of the CSSR National Front Central Committee, fully supported the conclusions of the 14th CPCZ Central Committee session and stressed the necessity of their constructive fulfillment. [passage omitted]

It further discussed a report on the state and turnover of resources in the National Front Peace and Solidarity Fund for the year 1988 and a proposal for a revision of its statutes. Overall income for the year 1988 exceeded the sum of Kcs5,613,000. Funds totaling Kcs21,800,000 were utilized, in particular, as material assistance for the people of Bangladesh, Nicaragua, Ethiopia, the Sudan, Namibia, Mozambique, and other countries. The balance of the Peace and Solidarity Fund up to 31 December 1988 amounted to Kcs182,594,000.

The Presidium made note of a report concerning the state and turnover of resources in the United Fund for Armenia. Overall income represents Kcs147,710,000, and within the framework of the first stage of aid from the Czechoslovak people to Armenia, Kcs44,330,000 were made available. Resources set aside for the implementation of the second stage exceed Kcs103 million. [passage omitted]

Hostage-Taker 'Rendered Harmless' by Police

AU2806150189 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 26 Jun 89 p 1

[CTK report: "Members of the National Security Corps Have Arrested a Terrorist"]

[Text] Prague—On Friday [23 June] night, the Public Security Corps City Administration in Bratislava was informed, by a caller on line 158 [for emergency calls], that an unidentified perpetrator had broken into a Bratislava apartment, threatening to shoot a woman. In the apartment, he held as hostages three boys aged 12 and 13, two of them twins, making their release conditional on the fulfillment of his demands, which seemed to be ultimatums.

Through negotiations, members of the National Security Corps managed to free the children from the perpetrator's hands. In order to be able to take action more effectively, the perpetrator was allowed to drive, in a getaway car which he requested, outside the residential part of Bratislava. Frantisek Muller, 23, from Prachatice

District, was then rendered harmless and was arrested through resolute action by members of the National Security Corps. Two members of the National Security Corps sustained injury during the operation.

Leaders' Public Appearances for 15-21 June
AU2806180789

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech, Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech, and Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak from 16 to 22 June report the following appearances of CSSR leaders (sourceline given in parentheses):

The opening day of the Czechoslovak Womens Union Congress in Prague on 16 June was attended by Ladislav Adamec, Karel Hoffmann, Ignac Janak and Milos Jakes. (RUDE PRAVO 17 Jun 89 p 1)

A Prague CPCZ (Czechoslovak Communist Party] City Committee session on education, held on 19 June, was attended and addressed by Jan Fojtik and Miroslav Stepan. (RUDE PRAVO 20 Jun 89 p 2)

A meeting of the Presidium of the CSSR Federal Assembly in Prague on 19 June was presided over by Alois Indra, with Milos Jakes in attendance. (RUDE PRAVO 20 Jun 89 p 2)

The final day of the meetings of the congress of the Czechoslovak Womans Union in Prague on 17 June was attended by Ladislav Adamec and Milos Jakes. (PRAVDA 19 Jun 89 p 1)

A peace rally in Brno-Lisen on 18 June was attended by Ladislav Adamec and Vladimir Herman. (PRAVDA 19 Jun 89 p 1)

The 14th joint session of the two chambers of the CSSR Federal Assembly in Prague on 20 June, which was presided over by Alois Indra, was attended by Ladislav Adamec, Jan Fojtik, Josef Haman, Frantisek Hanus, Vladimir Herman, Karel Hoffmann, Pavel Hrivnak, Gustav Husak, Milos Jakes, Ignac Janak, Ivan Knotek, Jozef Lenart, Frantisek Pitra, Miroslav Stepan, Karel Urbanek, and Miroslav Zavadil. (MLADA FRONTA 21 Jun 89 p 1)

The final day of the meetings of the 14th joint session of the two chambers of the CSSR Federal Assembly in Prague on 21 June was attended by Ladislav Adamec, Jan Fojtik, Frantisek Hanus, Vladimir Herman, Pavel Hrivnak, Karel Hoffmann, Alois Indra, Milos Jakes, Ignac Janak, Ivan Knotek, Jozef Lenart, Frantisek Pitra, Miroslav Stepan, and Miroslav Zavadil. (MLADA FRONTA 22 Jun 89 p 1)

Ladislav Adamec, Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee Presidium member and CSSR premier, inducted new government members into office, in Prague on 19 June. (RUDE PRAVO 20 Jun 89 p 1)

Jan Fojtik, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, presided over the afternoon sessions of the 14th CPCZ Central Committee session in Prague on 15 June. (RUDE PRAVO 16 Jun 89 p 1)

Alois Indra, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and chairman of the CSSR Federal Assembly, received Jindrich Rehorek, CSSR ambassador to the USSR, in Prague on 16 June. (RUDE PRAVO 17 Jun 89 p 2)

Frantisek Hanus, CPCZ Central Committee secretary, presided over a session of the CPCZ Central Committee Commission for the Creation and Protection of the Environment, in Prague on 19 June. (RUDE PRAVO 20 Jun 89 p 2)

Pavel Hrivnak, candidate member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and CSSR first deputy premier, visited the Ekoforum exhibition in Ostrava on 17 June. (PRAVDA 19 Jun 89 p 2)

Ivan Knotek, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and Slovak premier, received Hungarian Consul Jozsef Toth, who is ending his tour of duty in Slovakia, in Bratislava on 16 June. (PRAVDA 17 Jun 89 p 5) Knotek received visiting Italian industrialist Pietro Marzotte in Bratislava on 19 June. (RUDE PRAVO 20 Jun 89 p 2)

Frantisek Pitra, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member, presided over the morning meetings of the 14th CPCZ Central Committee session in Prague on 15 June. (RUDE PRAVO 16 Jun 89 p 1)

Miroslav Stepan, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and leading secretary of the Prague CPCZ City Committee, received Mihaly Jasso, member of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party Central Committee Politburo, in Bratislava on 21 June. (RUDE PRAVO 22 Jun 89 p 2)

Karel Urbanek, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member, visited a hospital in Prague on 19 June. (RUDE PRAVO 20 Jun 89 p 2) He gave a news conference in Prague on 21 June. (RUDE PRAVO 22 Jun 89 p 2) He presided over a meeting of the Presidium of the Czech National Front Central Committee in Prague on 21 June. (PRAVDA 22 Jun 89 p 2)

Jaromir Johanes, CSSR minister of foreign affairs, received deputy chief editor of the Syrian daily AL-BA'TH in Prague on 19 June. (RUDE PRAVO 20 Jun 89 p 2) He attended a peace rally in Leskovice in Havlickuv Brod District on 17 June. (PRAVDA 19 Jun 89 p 1)

Reportage on Honecker's Working Visit to USSR

For GDR and Soviet source accounts of the working visit by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, to the Soviet Union, please see the East Europe subsection of the 27 June Soviet Union DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Party Envoys Reveal 'Insecurity' Among Leaders

AU2706081689 Munich SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 24-25 Jun 89 p 4

[Report by Barbara von Ow: "The GDR Feels Put Under Pressure"]

[Text] Berlin/GDR, June—The diplomatic representatives of the Eastern "fraternal countries" have reacted in a visibly nervous way. Otto Reinhold, an adviser to Honecker, spoke up when he rejected any criticism of the GDR as an "immobile block": "There are more things in motion in the GDR than in most other socialist countries," he told the surprised visitors of a study group of the Berlin Aspen Institute. There are few socialist states in which there are so many "major developments" as in the GDR. At that point, an official guest from Budapest lost his patience. Could Reinhold really think that the GDR is carrying out more reforms than Hungary?

The energetic words that the high-ranking representatives of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] used in their talks to the foreign visitors revealed a lot about the increasing insecurity among the GDR leadership. One could gather all too clearly from what they said, that the SED feels it is being put under pressure—by the reformers in the socialist camp, but increasingly also by its German neighbors.

Up to now, there are few signs of "new thinking" in East Berlin; on the contrary, everything is pointing toward a noticeable hardening position. At least this is the impression one gained from the discussions in the SED's "think tanks," such as the Central Committee's Academy of Social Sciences, and the renowned "International Politics and Economics Institute" (IPW). SED representatives reacted even to persistent questions with the cliches of "continuity and renewal." It was stated that the reforms of the others can be judged only by their success—and so far none of the allies has shown any success. "However, in the GDR there is real efficiency," Reinhold stated, citing as proof of this: stable rents, the low price of bread, and the 1-megabit chip produced in the GDR. Is the GDR an "island of heavenly peace" in the age of perestroyka, one guest ironically asked. That there are growing doubts even within the top leading circle was shown by Culture Minister Hans-Joachim Hoffmann; he made strikingly pensive statements. His reflections on an "era of new dimensions" revealed that there are even some people within the SED who are seeking new answers. However, how deeply rooted this fear of change is even among the "doves" in the GDR could be learned when, at one point, Hoffmann spontaneously said: "It is true, I am bothered by those who want to speed up matters."

Those "who want to speed up matters" within the fraternal countries understood very well who this meant. Is there really nothing that the GDR could learn from the Polish reforms, a journalist from Warsaw asked. A few things are being followed "with interest," a Central Committee representative answered coolly, but most things "are unacceptable for us."

After all, there is a completely different starting point; compared with Poland, the GDR is not at the end of a "long crisis." On the contrary, it was said with impertinence: One knows that what matters in the USSR is overcoming stagnation and finding the path to dynamism; however, in the GDR, this is different: "What is important here is to maintain this dynamism."

Is the GDR pursuing a policy of "dissociating itself"—this time from the reformers within its own alliance? The repeated mention that has been made of the GDR's "special role" is an indication of this, it was said. It was striking to see how vigorously the SED is now emphasizing its "independent path." Socialism in the "specific colors of the GDR" has been implemented from the beginning, since 1945, an IPW representative said. The question whether the GDR is thus also referring to Anton Ackermann, who in 1946 promoted a "German path" toward socialism (which he had to revoke in 1948) was answered with a clear yes; Ackermann is one of the "pioneers" of the GDR, it was said.

The SED now loves to use the thesis of its "special situation" to defend itself against any pressure of reform. Referring to the GDR's "exposed situation," an SED member openly warned of "phenomena of crisis" in the SED state. Nobody could be interested in a "second Tbilisi in Rostock," he said. The "regrettable events" in China had proved that solidarity between party, state, and people has to be maintained, he noted.

The SED has made it quite clear that this solidarity does not require "new thinking". Whether in internal dialogue ("there has been a consensus for socialism since 1945"), in coming to terms with the past ("We declare our support for the statics of anti-Fascism"), in price policy ("What workers' party raises the price for bread?"), nowhere are there any signs of a more liberal policy. However, it was noted that the SED intends to continue to play a "pioneer role" in foreign politics—even though it remains to be seen upon what it based this hope. It seems that already, for a long time the reformers in Moscow and Budapest have been the new stars in East-West politics.

It was not without reason that a guest from the FRG noticed a "wide gap" in how the SED presents itself, and how the GDR is viewed by its neighbors. The fact that the SED is increasingly suffering from losing its image becomes clear

from the words of Culture Minister Hoffmann. The GDR feels it is often "treated aggressively," he complained. There is the impression that the GDR is to be "forced into the position of the old enemy image of the Soviet Union." Yet, energetic words will not suffice to polish the SED's image.

Editorial Criticizes NATO Nuclear Modernization

AU2806185089 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 27 Jun 89 p 2

["W.M." editorial: "He Who Wants To Keep the Hellish Nuclear Devices Is Cheating"]

[Text] We want peace and security for us and all other peoples of our continent. As again stated at the eighth session of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee, the prerequisite for this is a major reduction in the level of military balance to achieve mutual inability to attack. That is to say, armed forces and armaments between the Atlantic and the Urals have to be reduced to such an extent that they suffice for adequately defending one's own territory, but not for carrying out surprise attacks or large-scale offensive actions.

In the Vienna negotiations, by presenting offers of ceilings to be agreed upon, the Warsaw Pact states showed what this concretely means. In accordance with our military doctrine aimed at defense, we propose to reduce land and offensive air forces to 1,350,000 men each on both sides in Europe, the number of offensive aircraft to 1,500, of attack helicopters to 1,700, of tanks to 20,000, of armored combat vehicles to 28,000, and of artillery systems to 28,000. The figures are detailed for central Europe, the zone of contact between the military pacts, and the rear zones. Our proposal contains ceilings for armed forces and armaments of the individual states and for soldiers and weapons deployed outside their national borders.

Experts largely agree that such reductions would produce the desired inability to attack in the field of conventional armaments. But what about other armaments, above all tactical nuclear weapons? If they were maintained in parallel to conventional disarmament, the danger of a surprise attack and a nuclear conflict would not be eliminated.

Thus, the Vienna talks on conventional armed forces and armaments have to be complemented by parallel negotiations on tactical nuclear weapons as soon as possible. However, this is precisely what NATO rejected. At the earliest, it will be prepared to discuss these questions if agreements in the conventional sector are being implemented. And it definitely does not want to agree to a third zero solution.

What is more: The latest NATO meeting in Brussels established the hackneyed legend of the "threat from the East," the accursed "policy of strength," the clinging to the strategy of the so-called nuclear deterrence, and the project of "modernizing" the short-range nuclear missiles which are primarily deployed in the FRG and the range of which is to be extended to almost 500 km. All this means that the West wants to preserve its ability to attack, its ability to carry out a nuclear first strike under any circumstances.

Things are clear: He who postpones negotiations on tactical nuclear weapons and thwarts a third zero solution is cheating. Four out of five FRG citizens want nuclear weapons to be eliminated because they do not provide security, but will make them the first victims of a nuclear inferno in case of war. Yet the government, which knows this very well, is acting quite contrary. It has actually given up its original demand for early negotiations on tactical nuclear weapons and is putting it off until later. However, readiness for peace is not shown by statements on distant times, but by taking action today to eliminate the hellish devices.

Official PRC Film on Beijing Unrest Shown

AU2806115889 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 27 Jun 89 p 1

[ADN report: "Documentary Film on GDR Television: 'The Counterrevolutionary Riots in Beijing'"]

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—GDR television will broadcast once again the documentary film "The Counterrevolutionary Riots in Beijing on 3 and 4 June 1989" on channel one at 2100 on Wednesday, 28 June. The original Chinese television clips, which were broadcast for the first time on GDR television on Saturday, 24 June, give the viewer an idea of the violent, bloody riots of elements hostile to the Constitution in the PRC.

RENMIN RIBAO Quoted on Recent Events

AU2606164289

[Editorial Report] East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German on 24-25 June on page 2, under the headline "RENMIN RIBAO: Observance of Four Basic Principles Under a Clear Flag," carries a 1,000-word report on an editorial published by the PRC government paper RENMIN RIBAO on 23 June, entitled "Observance of the Four Basic Principles Under a Clear Flag." The report quotes the editorial as stating that Deng Xiaoping stressed the observance of the four basic principles as early as 1979, which are: the socialist path, the people's democratic dictatorship, leadership by the communist party, and Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong thought. "These four principles, however, have not been consistently observed for quite some time; they were not applied in the education of the people, of the students, of the cadres and communists." "Unrest and counterrevolutionary uprising were the serious consequences," RENMIN RIBAO is quoted as saying.

"An extremist minority of forces that are hostile to the people are using this opportunity to pour their hatred over the CPC, to stain the image of the party. This minority says that the party is in a state of decay and incites the people to overthrow the CPC in a counterrevolutionary uprising," the editorial is reported as stating.

"After the crushing of the counterrevolutionary uprising, far-reaching lessons are to be drawn. The enormous price makes the people realize increasingly clearly that the course adopted by the 13th CPC congress—one center, two points of emphasis—is completely correct. The two points of emphasis, the observance of the four basic principles and reform and opening, must be closely linked, none of them must be neglected; they must correspond to each other and must complement each other," the report quotes RENMIN RIBAO as saying.

Honecker Congratulates Hungary's Rezso Nyers
AU2806100089 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 27 Jun 89 p 1

[ND report: "Congratulations From SED Central Committee to R. Nyers"]

[Text] Berlin (ND)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], has conveyed the following congratulatory telegram to Rezso Nyers, chairman of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP]:

Esteemed Comrade Nyers,

On behalf of the SED Central Committee I convey to you cordial congratulations on your election as MSZMP chairman.

I add to them my conviction that the traditionally friendly relations between our parties will continue to be developed for the benefit of socialism and peace.

With communist greetings,
SED Central Committee

E. Honecker,
General Secretary

Mueckenberger Receives Cambodian Officials
AU2806131889 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 27 Jun 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Talk With Delegation of Cambodian Fraternal Party"]

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Erich Mueckenberger, member of the Politburo and chairman of the Central Party Control Commission (ZPKK), received a study delegation of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party [KPRP], headed by Sim Ka, candidate member of the Politburo and deputy chairman of the Central Control Commission. Sim Ka conveyed cordial greetings from Heng Samrin, general secretary of the KPRP Central Committee, to Erich Honecker, which were returned on behalf of the general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] in an equally cordial way. Erich Muckenberger briefed the Cambodian guests on the implementation of the decisions of the 11th SED Congress. He reported on the great efforts made by the GDR Communists and working people in all fields of the national economy to prepare the 40th anniversary of the founding of the GDR and the 12th SED Congress in a dignified manner with high achievements. Erich Mueckenberger explained that the successful development of the socialist German state is inseparably linked with increasing the SED's leading role and consistently implementing its social strategy.

Sim Ka reported on the topical situation in Cambodia. He explained the complicated struggle of the KPRP and all the Cambodian people for a political settlement of the question of Cambodia and for securing a peaceful future for the Southeast Asian country. He expressed thanks for the solidarity support which the GDR has always shown to the Cambodian people.

Both politicians agreed that the turn from confrontation to detente has to be made irreversible to secure a peaceful future for mankind. They expressed their active support for the USSR's initiatives to free the world from nuclear weapons and to strengthen peace and security. They paid tribute to the high level of fraternal relations between the two parties and states, and discussed steps to extend the exchange of experiences and cooperation in the field of party control.

Werner Mueller, member of the Central Committee and deputy chairman of the ZPKK, participated in the talks which took place in a cordial atmosphere.

During its visit to the GDR, the delegation acquainted itself with the SED's experiences in the field of party control. It had cordial meetings with working people in Berlin, Karl-Marx-Stadt, and Leipzig.

SED Congratulates Canadian Communist Leader
AU2806095689 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 27 Jun 89 p 2

[ND report: "Congratulations to William Kashtan on 80th Birthday"]

[Text] Berlin (ND)—The Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee has conveyed most cordial congratulations to William Kashtan, chairman of the Communist Party of Canada, on his 80th birthday. In the greetings message signed by Erich Honecker, tribute is paid to the decades in which William Kashtan advocated indefatigably and unselfishly the vital interests of the workers class and all Canadian working people, peace, democracy, and international understanding. As a true friend of the GDR, he is making an important contribution to strengthening the fraternal relations between the SED and the Communist Party of Canada for the development of friendship between the peoples of our countries.

Consular Treaty With Nigeria Ratified 26 Jun

AU2806095789 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 27 Jun 89 p 5

[ADN report: "Ratification Documents Exchanged"]

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Deputy Foreign Minister Dr Heinz-Dieter Winter and Edward Martins, extraordinary and plenipotentiary Nigerian ambassador to the GDR, exchanged the ratification documents for the consular treaty between the GDR and the Federal Republic of Nigeria in the Foreign Ministry on Monday [26 June]. They paid tribute to the consular treaty as a contribution to further developing bilateral relations and deepening cooperation.

First GDR Airbus Arrives in Berlin From France

AU2806181989 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 27 Jun 89 p 3

[Michael Baufeld report: "With the A-310 Nonstop to Bangkok as of 1 July"]

[Excerpt] Berlin—After a 1,700-km flight from Toulouse which took 2 hours and 1 minute, the airbus identified as DDR-ABA landed safely and smoothly in Berlin-Schoenefeld. As many as 140 representatives of the international press, radio, and television, and numerous people stood on the lookout platform, and watched the arrival of the first of the three airbuses which the GDR airline will possess in future.

With the A-310, Interflug will open a new airline to Bangkok via Dubai-Singapore on 1 July. With this long-distance type of airbus, especially developed for Interflug, all routes can be serviced by comfortable and economical nonstop flights, among them Berlin-Havana and Berlin-Beijing. [passage omitted]

Kassel-Arnstadt Sister City Agreement Signed

AU2806115989 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 27 Jun 89 p 5

[ADN report: "Kassel-Arnstadt Sister City Agreement"]

[Text] Kassel (ADN)—A sister city agreement between Kassel and Arnstadt was signed in the North Hesse metropolis of Kassel on Monday [26 June]. After the ceremonial act, Arnstadt Mayor Bernd Marker entered his name in the Golden Book of the city. The document had been initialled by Bernd Marker and Kassel Mayor Hans Eichler (Social Democratic Party of Germany) during his visit to the Thuringian city at the end of May this year.

Wernigerode-Neustadt Sister City Agreement

AU2806095989 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 28 Jun 89 p 2

[Summary] Wernigerode (ADN)—Mayor Martin Kilian and Dieter Ohnesorge, mayor of Neustadt in Rhineland-Palatinate, signed a sister city agreement in Wernigerode on 26 June.

FDJ Central Council Schedules 1990 Parliament

AU2706102789 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 26 Jun 89 p 1

[ND report: "Decision of the 11th Central Council Conference: 13th FDJ Parliament To Convene in Berlin for the End of May 1990 in Berlin"]

[Excerpts] Berlin (ND)—The 13th Parliament of the Free German Youth [FDJ] was convened in Berlin for the period from 30 May to 1 June 1990 by the FDJ Central Council. On the basis of the eighth session of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] and the Ninth Pedagogical Congress, on Saturday [24 June], the members of the Council discussed further tasks of the unified socialist youth association in the 40th year of the GDR, with a view to the 12th SED Congress in Berlin. [passage omitted]

At the conference, it was decided to hold the elections of the leaderships of the FDJ groups, the FDJ aktivs in the youth clubs and in the fundamental, kreis, and bezirk organizations, from 20 September 1989 to 30 March 1990.

Volker Voigt was relieved of his duties as a member of the Bureau and second secretary of the Central Council, and Hanjo Gliemann of his duties as a member of the Bureau and secretary of Central Council, because they had taken over other tasks. The council thanked them for the many years of successful work in the youth association. Gabriele Klembaski, member of the Bureau and secretary of the Central Council, was elected second secretary of the Central Council, while Martina Menzel, former deputy chairwoman of the "Ernst Thaelmann" Pioneer Organziation, and Peter Wegner, former second secretary of the FDJ Neubrandenburg Bezirk leadership, were elected members of the Bureau and secretaries of the Central Council.

DIETZ VERLAG Publishes Plenum Documents

AU2806095889

[Editorial Report] East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German of 27 June on page 2, under the headline "Materials of Eight Session Published By Dietz," carries a 100-word report noting that the Politburo report to the 8th session of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany has been published by DIETZ VERLAG.

Death of Film Association Vice President

AU2806130289

[Editorial Report] East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German of 27 June on page 7 carries a 100-word obituary on Hermann Herlinghaus, born 30 April 1931, vice president of the Film and Television Specialist Association, who died on 19 May 1989. No party affiliation or cause of death is given.

National Assembly Proceedings Continue

Bekesi on Tax Reform Plan

LD2806144689 Budapest MTI in English 1336 GMT 28 Jun 89

[Text] Budapest, June 28, 1989 (MTI-Econews)—In his parliament address today Minister of Finance Laszlo Bekesi outlined to the MPs a programme for streamlining the Hungarian taxation system. It was short of a taking the form of a genuine bill for the time being, rather just a first reading of the government concept for the reform. Concrete changes proposed in the taxation system, to take effect by January 1, 1990, are to be brought before the October session of parliament.

The minister said that in the wake of the tax reform, budget withdrawals from companies declined in 1988 from 76 to 51 percent.

The structure of taxes has improved too, since there is now less tax on incomes and more on end use and consumption. All in all, the proportion of consumption-related and personal income taxes has increased from 35 percent to 65 percent in the budget revenues, and the proportion of company taxes decreased accordingly.

In the wake of the tax reform that entered into force last year, various laws provide for 40 percent of the income of the state budget. Further modification of the tax system will bring the Hungarian system closer to the international, and especially to the European financial system, the minister said.

The implementation of the tax reform cost the state budget 4.4 billion forints ($85 million) last year, 2.6 billion forints of the amount was put into setting up the inland revenue organization, and 1.8 billion into running it. On a social scale, counting also company investment in the line, the costs can well be estimated at 15 to 16 billion forints.

Last year 4.8 million citizens paid taxes on a total income of 660 billion forints, of which 210 billion was liable for tax. Some 82,000 people stated "invisible incomes" to a total value of 830 million forints, which implied up to 14,000 forints extra income per person in professions where the tip or "thank you" money is a custom. Of the 1.5 million small-scale agricultral producers only 11,000 made tax statements to a total value of 340 million, which translates into an average 32,000 forints extra annual income. (Such incomes are exempt from tax up to an annual value of 500,000 forints).

The tax reform produced a bigger than expected inflationary pressure, especially at the producer price level. Contrary to expectations, however, the number of self-employed tradesmen and shop-keepers has grown by 4-8 percent.

With a view to progress, the current level of 40 percent corporate profit tax on annual incomes smaller than 3 million forints, and 50 percent on those above, should be reduced by 10 to 15 percent, and the current "additional" tax of 4 percent gradually abolished.

The minister considered it important to reduce also the rates of both personal income tax and vat, as well as to have fewer tax exemptions. (Last year the highest rate of personal income tax was 60 percent, and that was reduced to 52 percent by this year). For the time being the government does not propose to introduce a "family" income tax system, but a tax reduction will be granted for each child in a family. Profit tax for private entrepreneurs is to be fixed so as to stimulate performance.

Tax Reform Bill Discussed

LD2806165789 Budapest MTI in English 1542 GMT 28 Jun 89

[Text] Budapest, June 28 (MTI)—On Wednesday, Minister of Finance Laszlo Bekesi summed up the debate over experiences in the operation of the tax reform and the concept of the modernization of taxation, and reacted to the ideas raised in the debate.

The present session discussed the bill in its first reading, and the final outline will be put on the agenda in the autumn.

The proposal, together with the amendments and corrections, was carried with 7 votes against and 38 abstentions.

Karpati Addresses National Assembly

LD2806181589 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1502 GMT 28 Jun 89

[Speech by Defense Minister Ferenc Karpati at the National Assembly session—live]

[Excerpts] Esteemed National Assembly. [passage omitted] I am submitting before you proposals that affect important constitutional obligations and rights—the draft amendment to the defense law—on the authority of the government. It is a draft law that directly affects, before all else, young people, but also the adult male population, and through them, the majority of families. Through this, it can significantly influence the general feeling of society as well as the general political mood.

The amendment of the defense law has been made necessary and timely by the changes in social and military service relations, the increasingly forceful citizens' demand for the development of constitutional statehood, and not lastly, by the efforts to make use of international experiences.

The proposal submitted fundamentally amends defense law regulation number one through the introduction of alternative service. At the same time, I consider it necessary to emphasize that the amendment of the law does not mean a radical change of the system of legal regulation of defense.

The aim of the proposal is to make possible—within general compulsory military service and alongside the completion of military service—the introduction of a new form of service that is acceptable to those who on grounds of conscience stand against military service.

In the interests of this, the draft law contains: Forms of alternative service, that is, unarmed military and civilian service; procedural regulations for applications in this regard; and the length of time for alternative service.

The amendment of the defense law is necessitated also by the changes happening in our society. The restructuring of the system of political institutions also amends the role filled in this by the Army. These changes must gain expression also in the moral obligation undertaken through the completion of military service. In accordance with this, the draft law contains an amended text of the military oath; for the pledge [fogadalom] of those completing unarmed military service; and for the pledge of professional and reserve officers, and deputy officers. [passage omitted]

Apart from what has already been outlined, the draft law also features a few regulations affecting the rights of citizens liable for military service, which have up to now been contained in lower level legal rules. [passage omitted]

In our homeland, apart from the years of World War I, there has been general compulsory military service since 1939. This corresponds to the timely requirements of the construction of the modern age and the Army in the 20th century. At the same time, it must be said that we are approaching the beginning of a new era in this area too. In peacetime, the development of military affairs requires an increasing proportion of professional soldiers. But at the same time, today, the utilization of the conscript stock and the significant sized, well-prepared reserve stock cannot yet be dispensed with.

I would also like to say that given the appropriate conditions, naturally, both the length of normal military service as well as the length of reserve service may be reduced and we also follow this practice.

Today, keeping in view as far as possible the priority of safety in defense, we must take into account such social requirements which, in the absence of fundamental human rights, conscience and suitable legal regulation, may bring about an irresolvable conflict between the state and certain citizens. In order to resolve the dissonance occasionally occuring between compulsory military service and freedom of conscience—their being constitutional regulations—several forms and methods have evolved in many countries of Europe. [passage omitted]

The demand for the possibility for certain persons to fulfill their compulsory military service in a noncombatant role or in the form of civilian service which has evolved in many countries has also increased, that is, that it should not be definitely on the basis of religion or belonging to a denomination but for reasons of cconscience for persons who cannot undertake military service on the grounds of the state of their conscience. [passage omitted]

The draft bill keeps in view equality in terms of the law for all citizens. Therefore, all citizens—whether they fulfill their military service in a military role or in a civilian role, and thus their duty to the homeland—are treated equally by the bill. This equality primarily means that the rights and obligations of the young men arising from their service should be of the same degree. Therefore, in the course of the legal regulation of the introduction of civilian service we have laid great stress in order that those applying (?voluntarily) for service should have the same rights as enlisted soldiers—or that they should have the same obligations.

However, is it possible to speak about complete equality? Complete sameness cannot be established in this respect, naturally because the requirements of military service, the mental and physical burden, and the demands of military discipline are neither necessary nor applicable in civilian service. In accordance with the requirements of the principle of identical rights and obligations, the draft bill has determined the length of civilian service to be the same as the military one. According to the Defense Law, those conscripted must serve for 18 months: officers and non-commissioned officers may be compelled to do reserve service of 24 months, while privates and low-ranking non-commissioned officers may be required to do 18 months of reserve service.

The draft bill intends to reduce reserve service, in the case of privates and low-ranking non-commissioned officers to 18 months while in the case of volunteers and commissioned and non-commissioned officers to 12 months. In accordance with this the bill proposes to fix a total of 30 months as the length of alternative military service, that is, 18 months service as an enlisted soldier and 12 months in reserve service.

During the preparation of the draft bill it was the length of military and civilian service that created the greatest debate. In this regard, some fellow deputies still have reservations.

The leadership of the Ministry of Defense, keeping in view the democratic situation and the Army's present personnel requirement, has thoroughly examined the possibility of further reducing the length of military service. On the basis of this, in agreement with the government, I am informing the esteemed National Assembly that we see the possibility that in 2 years, but no more than 3 years, we can create the condition for reducing the length of enlisted military service from 18 months to 14 months. Naturally, the length of noncombatant and civilian service would also be reduced in line with this.

In the course of the committee debates, but after the amended draft was submitted, it was also proposed that in the law we lay down the maximum duration of military service. The justification for this is that it would be unfair vis-a-vis the people who did military service before 1981, when armed military service was for 24 months, if we were to determine the duration of reserve service as 12 months in their case too.

For this reason, I recommended that the text of the first paragraph of the sixth clause of the draft law be supplemented with the following: On the basis of liability for military service, the combined duration of military service by conscripts liable for service and by reserves cannot exceed 30 months.

The draft law provides a possibility for fulfilling alternative service for reasons of conscience, without specifically defining the concept of conscience. Conscience is a mental and ethical category, which is very difficult to handle by official procedures. In the procedures directed at judging the request, it is not the existence of reasons of conscience that is examined by the authorities, but rather, whether the statements of the person in question are founded. Does he really observe his ethical, religous, and moral conviction in his whole manner of living or does he want to use the possibilities ensured by the law to avoid his obligations?

For this reason I would like to emphasize that a very important task falls on the social committees [word indistinct] that are earmarked in the draft law. It is important that they be composed of persons who are accepted in a wide-ranging manner by society, and it should be possible to regard their opinions and statements as just.

Service of the homeland is obligatory in the same manner for everyone. This cannot be opposed by even those who do not wish to do armed service. The homeland must be served by even those who are dissatisfied with the country's social establishment and who have ideas that diverge from those of the majority of the people. For this reason, political opposition to the constitutional order by those who are liable for military service cannot be accepted as a reason of conscience.

The draft law enables the submission of requests for alternative service until the taking of the military oath by conscripts. After the military oath, and during the time of military service, until being placed in the reserves, requests cannot be submitted. From the time of being placed in the reserves, until receiving the call for the next reserve military service—and this took shape during the committee debates—alternative military service can be requested.

Assertion of citizens' rights is also an interest of the state. For this reason, the government does not endeavor to push young people whose convictions prohibit armed service into crisis of conscience by obligating them to do armed service. With regard to this, the draft law ensures wide-ranging guarantees to assert this right. There is place for appeal against an administrative decision in the first degree in accordance with the general procedural regulations. It is posisble to take a legally binding resolution to court. The court, on the basis of the draft law, can change the authority's decision.

In the course of preparation, the provision figuring in the 11th part of the draft law was criticized several times. According to this, a person liable to military service who, with permission, has not done his military service between the ages of 18 and 23, can be called to do his service until the age of 30, instead of 28, as stipulated by the current regulations. There is a need to raise the age limit at which a person can be called for citizens' sake; I would like to emphasize this. It is only within the age limit the law can set that the military authorities can permit service to be postponed, and in the past years it has happened—albeit not often—that some people were unable to complete their studies, especially at medical school, until the age of 28. In accordance with the law, in such cases they were compelled to break off their studies for the purpose of military service.

To avoid this, the draft law proposes that the age limit at which one can be called be raised. Esteemed National Assembly: allow me to speak briefly about a problem raised by many people in the debate which was mentioned earlier, that a considerable proportion of young people who are called are sent to formations far away from their home. This causes problems for the soldiers, and it also causes problems for their relatives, and stemming from this is the large number of requests for transfer, which very many people have to deal with. The basic reason, and also explanation, for this is that the location of our troops, primarily the extent to which they are brought to strength, is not spread out evenly in the territory of our country, which is 93,000 square kilometers.

The military detente which is perceptible in Europe, the decrease of confrontation, the favorable prospects for creating mutual security, give cause for hope. For a long time, representatives of the Warsaw Pact and NATO countries in Vienna have been holding talks regarding the issues of reducing conventional armed forces and weapons, and the previous experiences of these talks are very favorable and encouraging. Our confidence is also supported by the fact that it is apparent from reduction plans recently announced by U.S. President Bush in reply to the very important initiative of the Soviet Union that these proposals have come very close to one another. All this, therefore, has made us confident with regard to the future.

Keeping this in mind, we are working on a significant reform of the Armed Forces, the basic substance of which is that our Army should unequivocally assume a defensive character. This will entail very significant broad changes regarding the future. Simultaneously with these very important military doctrinal issues, we plan extensive reforms in nearly every sphere of military activity. This is also natural nowadays since what takes place in society is necessarily valid for the life of the

Army, too. Of these, the shaping of human relations, the manner of treatment, the care administered to the soldiers, and the humanization of relations between people are of outstanding importance.

The rightly demanded absolute obedience in the Armed Forces does not preclude, when carrying out commands—indeed, it expressly demands among current conditions—that one be thoughtful and act on his own accord. This also means that there is a need for independent opinions, for a creative approach to tasks. And it means that no matter what level he works at every commander must know that the young people he is entrusted with are fulfilling their patriotic duty, in which they must be supported and encouraged and the flowering of their abilities must be assisted.

So, the two issues may be substantially helped by putting into practice this idea of ours whereby, during his interview with the recruiting commission it is made possible for the young person to be allocated to the military group of his choice. I have seen this practice in operation during my visits to Finland and other places.

Esteemed National Assembly! The original draft law initiated by the government has undergone frequent modifications. The reason for this is that the Military Committee, the Youth Committee, the Legal Committee, and many other committees have dealt with the problem. The Military Committee, for one, dealt with the question more than once. We had to evaluate the many modification proposals: For example, the already mentioned 36 and/or 30 months service, and now, as a result, we have decided to retain the 30 months proposition.

Similarly, we shall propose that reservists should also be able to ask for civilian service. Thus, during yesterday's joint session of the Defense Committee and the Legal Committee, we managed to achieve agreement and we could submit in full agreement our proposal for the amendments.

Finally, I would like to ask the esteemed National Assembly to debate and accept the draft amendment to the law on national defense, together with yesterday's and today's proposals. Thank you.

Statements Issued on PRC, FRG

LD2806212989 Budapest MTI in English 2022 GMT 28 Jun 89

[Text] Budapest, June 28 (MTI)—During its Wednesday session, the Foreign Affairs Committee of Parliament adopted the following statement:

'The Foreign Affairs Committee of the Hungarian National Assembly endorses the position published by the Hungarian Government and several social and political organizations in the wake of the Chinese tragedy. The committee expresses its deep anxiety over the reprisals and, on the basis of Hungary's historical experience and lessons, hopes that this grave social conflict will not involve further victims and will be settled peacefully.'

x x x

On June 22, 1989, the Bundestag of the Federal Republic of Germany unanimously approved a resolution supporting political development in Hungary and calling on the federal government to take concrete measures. At the proposal of the Foreign Affairs Committee, the Hungarian National Assembly approved the following statement:

'The National Assembly of the Hungarian People's Republic welcomed with pleasure the resolution adopted by the Bundestag of the Federal Republic of Germany on June 22, 1989, concerning political developments in Hungary.

'The National Assembly regards this as recognition that the political and economic processes under way in the Hungarian People's Republic carry values that comply with the interests of pan-European cooperation.

'Cooperation can only be based on the general enforcement of human rights, irrespective of race, religion, nationality and sex, the extension of democracy, and the relations and sovereignty of nations with equal rights. Hungary develops both its domestic and foreign policy, its economic policy and external economic relations in keeping with the Helsinki document, so that the nation should prosper in this spirit.

'On the basis of all this, the National Assembly greatly appreciates the statements from the Bundestag that promote Hungary's approach to Europe in the fields of international political, economic and cultural relations.

'The Hungarian National Assembly expresses its intention to create, through its work, an independent, democratic Hungary. Support from the international environment such as that expressed in the June 22 resolution of the Bundestag is indispensable to the solution of these epochal tasks.'

Session Resumes 29 Jun

LD2906093689 Budapest MTI in English 0808 GMT 29 Jun 89

[Text] Budapest, June 29 (MTI)—Hungarian National Assembly resumed its session on Thursday with the discussion over the draft bill on the amendment of the 1976. I. Defence Law. [as received] After winding up the debate broken off the previous day, Kalman Kulcsar, minister of defence will present the draft bill on the amendment of the penal code.

Council of Ministers Meets 28 June

LD2806204589 Budapest MTI in English 1616 GMT 28 Jun 89

[Text] Budapest, June 28 (MTI)—The Council of Ministers held a session on Wednesday during the break in the parliamentary session.

The government discussed some topical issues and heard a report by State Secretarry Laszlo Udvari, government commissioner for the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros project, on the current state of Hungarian-Czechoslovak talks.

State Secretary Ferenc Bartha, president of the National Bank of Hungary, gave details of his talks with senior representatives of the World Bank.

U.S. Congress Rejects Long-Term Favored Status

LD2806150589 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 28 Jun 89

[Text] The U.S. Congress has rejected the draft law that the most-favored nation status should be granted to Hungary not for a year but for 5 years at a time. The draft law will be debated again and there will be another vote. Our colleague, Zoltan Sipos, has asked Laszlo Ranki at the Hungarian Economic Chamber about the significance of this decision.

[Ranki] For many years we asked at every forum that this most-favored nation status be renewed by Congress not yearly but that it should be ensured for a longer period. This would provide security for Hungarian enterprises and exporters in the U.S. market. The most-favored nation status has not been withdrawn from us—all that is happening is that it will have to be renewed on an annual basis in the future as well.

I do not know what motivated Congress in this vote; after all, all sorts of views are reflected there. I do not think that this is the position of the administration, I think this vote expresses the views of the legislature only.

[Sipos] If this proposal can gain a two-thirds majority in the House then it will be debated by the Senate. What are the chances there?

[Ranki] There is a more favorable view of Hungary today, both in the House and in the Senate, than a year ago. Thus, I consider it likely that the Senate will view the matter in a positive light, but since there is a two-chamber legislature, this will make the decision unequivocal.

Nyers Sends Greetings to PRC's Jiang Zemin

LD2806204789 Budapest MTI in English 1606 GMT 28 Jun 89

[Text] Budapest, June 28 (MTI)—Rezso Nyers, president of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, has sent a telegram of greetings to Jiang Zemin, newly-elected general secretary of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party.

Documents From June Central Committee Session

Session Communique Published

AU2806085089 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 26 Jun 89 p 1

[Unattributed communique on the session of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party Central Committee held on 23-24 June, under the headline: "Communique on the MSZMP Central Committee Session"]

[Text] The Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] Central Committee held a meeting on 23 and 24 June 1989 with the participation of Central Committee members, the chairman and secretary of the Central Control Committee, the first secretaries of county and town party committees, the heads of the Central Committee departments, the heads of the party institutes, and the secretaries of the Budapest Party Committee.

The body debated the motion presented by Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the MSZMP, on the convention of the party congress and the proposals for its preparations. In conjunction with this, the situation of the party was also surveyed.

The MSZMP Congress was scheduled to convene by the Central Committee for 7 October 1989.

The body decided that each congressional delegate will represent 600 party members, and members of both the Central Committee and the Central Control Committee will have a right of vote at the congress.

The election of delegates to the congress must take place by 27 August 1989. Subsequently, county delegate groups should be formed, and spokesmen elected.

The Central Committee is due to take its stand at its next session as to the agenda and rules of procedure of the congress, and concurrently will hold a debate over the thesis of the party's platform declaration. The drafts to feature on the agenda of the congress should be elaborated on the basis of the views of the membership and continuous consultations with delegates.

The Central Committee is to publish the stand it adopted on the situation of the party and its political endeavors.

For the interest of coordination in the political leadership, the Central Committee also decided at the session about organization and personnel changes. Rezso Nyers was elected as president of the party. A four-member Presidium was elected as a directive body, consisting of the following people: Rezso Nyers, Karoly Grosz, Miklos Nemeth, and Imre Pozsgay.

The Central Committee relieved Janos Berecz from his post as Central Committee secretary. He will be given another party assignment. The Central Committee

expressed its thanks for his past activity in the leadership. Janos Barabas and Jeno Kavacs were elected secretaries of the Central Committee.

At the proposal of the Presidium, the Central Committee expanded the Political Committee, which in the future will operate as a 21-member Political Management Committee. The members of this new body are: Central Committee Secretary Janos Barabas; Laszlo Boros, works manager at the State Construction Enterprise of Gyor-Sopron County; Robert Burgert, general director of the Babolna Agricultural Combine; Jozsef Dudla, first secretary of the Borsod-Abauj-Zemplen county party committee; Central Committee Secretary Gyorgy Fejti; MSZMP General Secretary Karoly Grosz; Laszlo Gyuricza, first secretary of the Veszprem county party committee; Csaba Hamori, first secretary of the Pest county party committee; Lajos Hegedus, chairman of the Ferenc Erdei Agricultural Cooperative of Harta; Foreign Minister Gyula Horn; Central Committee Secretary Pal Ivanyi; Mihaly Jasso, first secretary of the Budapest party committee; Central Committee Secretary Jeno Kovacs; Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth; MSZMP Chairman Rezso Nyers; Maria Ormos, rector of the Janus Pannonius Science University; Minister of State Imre Pozsgay; Mrs Sandor Rajki, first secretary of the Gyongyos town party committee; Ilona Tatai, general manager of the Taurus Enterprises; Laszlo Varga, chairman of the Zala County Council; and Pal Vastagh, first secretary of the Csongrad County party committee.

If parliament enacts the bill on the introduction of the post of president of the Republic, the Central Committee decided it would nominate Imre Pozsgay for the post.

The Central Committee elected Rezso Nyers as head of the MSZMP delegation to the tripartite political coordination talks, and Imre Pozsgay, Gyorgy Fejti, and Pal Ivanyi as members of the delegation.

Party 'Position' Published

AU2806080189 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 26 Jun 89 pp 1, 2

[Unattributed position on the party situation, under the headline: "Position on the Party Situation and Its Political Efforts"]

[Text] The May 1988, national conference of the party resulted in its dynamic activity on the road to becoming a lively political movement. It is taking decisive steps to increase the democracy of the political system and to move toward a constitutional state. This is in conformity with the interest of the state. At the conference, the acceleration of economic reforms was also decided on, which is also manifest in the elaboration process of the bills for founding the new model of a market economy. The party initiated a realistic review of past decades in order to be able to formulate a genuine picture of our national history, including its own role and responsibility in this. The party recognized the importance of the freedom of information and it has also done a lot to create democratic publicity.

Fundamental changes are accompanied by new tensions within the party, due primarily to the varying opinions over the character and pace of changes. Thus, tensions are caused not by the appearance of various trends, but by the fact that so far, no political synthesis has emerged between these trends. Important theoretical and political issues were left unsettled within the Central Committee and the Political Committee.

The Central Committee holds it of essential interest that the renewing Hungarian politics should be interpreted correctly within the party, and by Hungarian and international public opinion.

The Hungarian Socialist Workers Party's [MSZMP] endeavors are in line with the activity of a number of communist parties and socialist countries. International public opinion and the majority of Hungarian society which agrees with democratic socialism, support the course of the MSZMP's politics.

However, views have also emerged among our party members which regard the inevitable change in the model of socialism as equal to giving up socialism. Some groups oppose multiparty representational democracy and the socialist-type, mixed ownership economy, and they question the need for world economic relations and for a further opening. They propagate the mistaken idea that we can solve our economic problems exclusively by means of our relations with the socialist countries.

The MSZMP Central Committee does not accept the characterization by some forerign politicians and media which suggests the transition to political pluralism and a mixed-ownership market is a betrayal of socialism, some kind of "peaceful counterrevolution...". The MSZMP clearly differentiates between the protection of socialist values and clinging to power without even recoiling from the use of force.

The Central Committee affirms the obligations it undertook at the political conciliatory discussions: accomplishment of a democratic transition and the solving of political conflicts can only take place in a peaceful, non-violent way.

The Central Committee cannot leave unmentioned those right-wing, and, on occasion, even extreme inciting manifestations, which have caused annoyance among the public. It firmly condemns the anti-Soviet views which endanger the interests of the country, and the fact that some people utilized the process of national justice for aims opposing the spirit of appeasement.

It discards the unilateral interest perception, supposed to be national, which intends to turn Hungary against its neighbors. The future of Hungary can be founded only on a constructive policy with neighboring countries, Europe and the entire world. Those who propose another policy by striving to achieve cheap popularity will make other countries suspicious of Hungary and endanger our nation.

The MSZMP expresses its solidarity for the reforms unfolding in the Soviet Union, and the endeavors of Mr Gorbachev's policy which strenghten the process of Hungarian renewal as well.

The Central Committee rejects the untrue, anti-communist views which make the party appear as the opposer of a democratic transformation. It is a historical fact that the MSZMP has taken progressive steps since the 1960s, and this is something which is recognised internationally.

It is the historic responsibility of all Hungarian political forces to help avoid the dangers of extremist power which so often lead to crisis. The MSZMP proposes cooperation in this with all political parties and powers, in order to save the country from heading toward another national tragedy.

The Central Committee affirms that socialism can be achieved in Hungary only under a new economic and political model. The goal is democratic socialism, a constitutional state, a parliamentary democracy based on a multiparty system and a market economy based on the decisive role of communal property. The MSZMP is committed to Marxist values and to left-wing, socialist, and humanist ideas. The MSZMP is open to new approaches in solving the global problems of the end of our century. Our renewing party is striving to become a force that believes in a new synthesis of communist and social-democratic values, and serves the interests of the workers and of our entire nation.

The MSZMP intends to operate as a political movement, concentrating on the solving of socioeconomic problems, and winning the nation's support to do so, at free elections.

The party considers it essential that political activity, based on majority opinion, should be forumulated as a result of wide-ranging debates held among representatives of various political platforms.

The Central Committee supports the foreign policy trend serving national interests and based on international reality. According to its standpoint, Hungary should carry out its activity as a member of the Warsaw Pact, for the reduction of armed forces and armaments, and the simultaneous dissolving of military alliances. It holds it of primary interest that Hungary should continue fostering its multilateral international ties, and for the country to take a bigger share in the economic and intellectual development of the world, especially Europe.

Our party counts on the support of the progressive forces in Hungarian society. The Central Committee calls upon the party members to actively participate in implementing these goals.

Budapest TV Interviews CSSR Dissident Havel

LD2906003689 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1935 GMT 28 Jun 89

[Interview with Vaclav Havel, a "leading figure" in Charter 77, by unidentified correspondent on the "Panorama" program; date, place not given: no video available—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Correspondent] Vaclav Havel, one of the leading figures in the opposition group Charter 77, has been in prison a bit too much lately. It was in reference to him among others, that Milos Jakes, party general secretary, said that he wanted to make use of the transition process for compromising socialism and for destabilizing the regime. It is, indeed, not a normal state of affairs for a professional playwright to become a political hero and a prisoner. The exception is our part of the world, central Europe. According to his friends, Havel has never wanted to play an international role such as this in Czechoslovakia. He seeks not confrontation, but political solutions free of violence. He believes in dialogue and compromise. I think his time has come. [passage omitted]

[Corresspondent] How were you treated in prison?

[Havel] I must tell you that I was treated very well, particularly if I compare it with my earlier prison experiences. There was a tremendous difference; you might say that I was a prisoner of honor. Several of my guards expressly told me that they did not agree with my imprisonment. I had really nothing to complain about. I think that this is a slight, hardly perceptible, but nonetheless real sign that the situation is changing here.

In our prisons there is a regulation that every prisoner must watch the evening television newscast. The television sets are there in the corridors.

[Correspondent] Is it compulsory to watch?

[Havel] Yes, the sets are there in the corridors; at 1930 everybody is taken there. You are required to watch until 2000, when everyone is taken back to his place. Some people—those who behave themselves well, who have red dots—can stay longer and can watch the programs that follow the newscast. Rules being rules, I was also required to watch the television newscast. Now, in view of my special situation, we were allowed to watch television at any time. We could watch it as long as we wanted to. These gentlemen were very happy that they could watch television, so the set was on for 6 hours a day; on the weekends for 8 hours. Let me tell you that this was the toughest part of my punishment. [passage omitteed]

[Correspondent] Fojtik now claims that there is a counterrevolution under way in Hungary, that counterrevolutionaries are gathering under the banner of reform. What is your opinon on this?

[Havel] I think that if you sense any covert threat in Fojtik's words it is: The Czechoslovak Army will save the cause of socialism in Hungary, Poland, and in the Soviet Union. However, let me reassure Hungarian viewers that this cannot be a serious threat. I am not sure that Czechoslovakia is strong enough to invade the whole Soviet bloc and to save the achievements of socialism in these countries. So, I do not see anything in these statements that should worry neighboring countries.

By the way, these words are fully in accord with the world view of this ruling group, its ideology. This ruling group was placed in power by the intervention of the Soviet Union, or by the five member states of the Warsaw Pact. These soldiers came, so to speak, to save the cause of socialism in Czechoslovakia. This ruling group has identified itself with this ideology and has been repeating it for the last 20 years. Consequently, they cannot give any other answer than the one they are giving to all those things which are now happening in Hungary, Poland, or in the Soviet Union. This is a question of their existence or nonexistence. This is their political identity, their essence. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] Nowadays there is a warm wind blowing from Moscow: perestroyka and glasnost. The Czechoslovak Communist Party has officially begun the transformation. Nonetheless, it is apparent that the government in Prague resists perestroyka and glasnost. What do you think? How long will they be able to resist the warm winds blowing from Moscow?

[Havel] This is a very difficult question and I would very much like to know what the situation is. Our leadership is, of course, in words committed to an unshakable friendship with the Soviet Union. It supports everything that is happening there, or if not everything, it supports Gorbachev's official policy.

All this, however, has a false ring to it; these are just words, without any factual consequences. This is just changing masks. This is perfectly understandable. This leadership was installed by Brezhnev and his invasion; this leadership has identified itself politically with the Brezhnev Doctrine and on top of this it has allowed itself to make an ironic mistake: It believed that Brezhnev would live until the end of time and it did not count on the possibility of a different type of development.

People listen to the radio about what is happening in Hungary; they know about it. They also know what is happening in Poland and in the Soviet Union. And then suddenly they ask each other: Why is it that what is permitted there is punished here? This is a new impetus. I think that our leadership is very pained by what is happening in Moscow and would probably welcome it if the process slowed down or reversed, not to mention the events in Poland and Hungary. Those are an absolute catastrophe for them.

Sooner or later, the Czechoslovak question has to come into the open. This is clear. But Gorbachev wants to slow this down rather than speed it up, for perfectly understandable reasons. He has problems with Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Afghanistan, the Baltic republics, and in a quite different way with Poland and Hungary as well. He has so many problems that he has absolutely no need for another center of destabilization in the middle of Europe. He knows, of course, that as soon as they officially review Brezhnev's invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968, the state leadership will have no option but to slink away and this can bring about unpredictable consequences in society. What Gorbachev fears is chaos. He needs some sort of order, and it would be uncomfortable for him to raise his voice, perhaps to commit himself, in the cause of Czechoslovakia. Thus, formally he says: This is your business; we no longer want to interfere.

Our leadership is today in a dead end. Everything slips from its hands and turns against it. Whatever it does, it turns against it. In my opinion, this situation cannot be maintained in the long term.

So, something probably has to happen. But it is also possible that nothing will happen and that this strange situation will go on for years without attracting any attention. Well, I cannot tell; there is the extreme possibility that the same thing will happen as in Beijing, that one day we will look around and see machine guns everywhere. But this is not likely, of course. The other possibility, that the power structure is shaken and personnel changes are made, could lead to the same situation here in a year as in Hungary. This would be the ideal alternative.

TRYBUNA LUDU Interviews Orzechowski

LD2306112789 Warsaw PAP in English
1006 GMT 23 Jun 89

[Text] Warsaw, June 23—Asked in an interview for the TRYBUNA LUDU daily for his vision of transformations of the party, Marian Orzechowski, a member of the PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] Central Committee Political Bureau and Central Committee secretary replied:

"In my opinion, to put it short, the PUWP should become a socialist and national party, a political party and not an ideological one, a party of the people's state and not a government party by its virtue, a party highlighting strivings for social justice, but at the same time a pragmatic and ideologically open one. A democratic party in its inside and geared to winning social support in an open electoral struggle. (A party) acting vigorously in representative structures, in mass social organizations, in all layers of society. A party not only co-creating and initiating transformations opening the road to an effective and rational economy, parliamentary democracy and civil society but also a political force permeating the transformations with values constituting the essence of socialism—and above all with principles of social justice which social policy is a key implementation instrument of. At issue therefore is a party of a program stemming from a system of values and not dogmas not corresponding to life."

PAP on FRG's Kohl Impending Warsaw Visit

LD2806231589 Warsaw PAP in English
2118 GMT 28 Jun 89

[Text] Bonn, June 28—As the political dialogue of Warsaw and Bonn that is to result in Chancellor Helmut Kohl's visit to Poland has been proceeding for such a long time, it is necessary to give a brief account of the basic facts.

The preparations started after FRG Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher's visit to Warsaw which was assessed by both sides as successful. At that time, three joint commissions were appointed to remove obstacles and prepare the foundations for Kohl's visit. After a year, heads of both governments Rakowski and Kohl decided to pass all the issues that require prompt settling to their special plenipotentiaries Kucza and Teltschik in order to accelerate the work.

As for now, the plenipotentiaries have met seven times in Warsaw and Bonn alternately. However, their recent Monday meeting in Bonn was not the last one in contrast to common expectations voiced here.

The Monday meeting of both plenipotentiaries brought no result and roused doubts here as to whether the chancellor would manage to come to Warsaw in July (mentioned was the date of July 17-21), the circumstances considered. Much is being done here not to make matters look worse than they are, which is reflected not only by guarded comments but also by today's interview of Teltschik for the DPA agency saying that the talks will be continued and emphasizing that both sides are willing to successfully end the negotiations.

The there-is-no hurry way of thinking is becoming fashionable here under the present circumstances. However, not all the FRG observers sign themselves under that slogan, warning that the nature of Polish-FRG relations is too fragile to put it to such a test.

Walesa Discusses Economics With Gdansk Voivode

LD2806225889 Warsaw PAP in English
2200 GMT 28 Jun 89

[Text] Gdansk, June 28: During their meeting here today, Gdansk Voivode Jerzy Jedykiewicz and leader of "Solidarity" trade unions Lech Walesa focused on the economic problems of the region.

After the meeting, Lech Walesa said: Economic issues are very important and it is necessary to do everything possible to set the economic mechanism in motion. I asked the voivode for a list of enterprises which could establish foreign cooperation. I can also see possibilities for banks to operate in our region.

Jerzy Jedykiewicz said: We have agreed upon methods of cooperation for the near future. We shall dwell on the matters that were only signalled in today's talk. I hope that Lech Walesa will use his broad international contacts to stimulate economic development of Gdansk region.

OPZZ Responds to Solidarity on Indexation

LD2806223689 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1700 GMT 28 Jun 89

[Text] The secretariat of the Executive Committee of OPZZ [National Trade Union Accord], referring to the resolution of the presidium of the National Executive Commission of Solidarity, expressed surprise that in the situation of the worsening conditions of the working people, the National Commission is fiercely attacking not the reasons—that is the price increases—but the fact that OPZZ is doing its trade union duty. OPZZ at the roundtable did not accept the agreed method of indexation, the statement reads, considering that this would sanction a further lowering of the standard of living of the working people. That is why we yet again call on Solidarity to revise its attitude and adopt as a rule the full recompense for the price increases, that is 100 percent indexation. Hope was expressed that the new government will put an end to the current prices policy. This was the statement by OPZZ.

Sobotka on Politburo Preparations for Plenum

LD2806223389 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 28 Jun 89

[Interview with Zbigniew Sobotka, candidate member of the Polish United Workers Party Central Committee, by unidentified correspondent, date, place not given—live or recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] Yesterday the Politburo deliberated for at least 12 hours, if not more. We already know that most of the meeting was devoted to economic problems, but these were not the only issues discussed, were they?

[Sobotka] I would like to say something about the issues discussed in the second part of the meeting, namely, the issues of preparations for the 13th plenum of the Central Committee and all matters concerning the party today. Of course, what happened during the elections, this greater tremor, is causing dissatisfaction in the party grass roots. Things are coming to a boil in our party organizations today. There is turmoil in the basic organizations and in voivodship echelons and at various meetings of the activists. There are various trends being noted: a general pressure to bring forward the 11th party congress and other more profound matters for us to draw the most correct and far-reaching conclusions from the defeat we suffered in the elections. The party today must clearly define its program and find its place, define how it is going to implement its tasks through party deputies and determine the methods of cooperation between the government, the party, and parliament. These are very important issues and are being discussed within our organizations.

There is also a lot of worry, a lot of anxiety if the party is going to pull through. There are also many programmatic ideas: Some wonder whether we should have a new party, if we are a force that can today consolidate itself and regain credibility as a party.

[Correspondent] Others are also thinking about divisions.

[Sobotka] I think that the most important issue today is not the divisions but the unity of the party. As the driving force of the reforms and transformations initiated at the 10th plenum, we must be the guarantor of these reforms, and a guarantor must be strong and unified. I am in favor of exchanging views; a multiplicity of views produces ideas. Views can differ but actions must be united. This is the key point for us.

There are also a lot of comments concerning the change of name of the party and changes in general in the functioning and the structures. All such suggestions received by the Central Committee are given an in-depth analysis. Yesterday we acquainted ourselves with some of the opinions received from the regions. These are extremely alarmist. We are noting them and will take them into consideration in preparations for the 13th plenum. We want to have an honest squaring of accounts. If it is necessary to draw conclusions, including members of the party leadership for this result of the elections and the current situation, then this will be done.

[Correspondent] When will the 13th plenum take place?

[Sobotka] The first part is to take place at the beginning of July. This will acquaint the participants with the documents and analyses that will be then available. We will also make our recommendation then for our comrade to become the president. This might also involve the meeting with the parliamentary Polish United Workers Party. The second, substantive part will take place in the second half of July, where we expect these substantive issues to produce a heated debate, possibly a highly critical debate, which I think will shows progress and give us something new.

Deputies on Preparations for National Assembly

AU2806164889 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 26 Jun 89 pp 1, 2

[Report by Anna Pawlowska: "First Decisions, First Intentions"]

[Excerpt] Two subjects dominated the second day (24 June) of the meeting of party deputies: The principles on which the Deputies Club should operate and preparations for the meeting of the National Assembly. Wojciech Jaruzelski, who was present at the morning session, said that the deputies' request of the previous day had been granted: The club will be invited to the 13th Central Committee plenum.

Marian Orzechowski, the club chairman, gave the floor to club secretary Edward Szymanski, who briefed the deputies (almost all those who were making their debut as deputies were present) on organizational and procedural matters, as well as the arrangement of forces in the new parliament. He drew particular attention to the relationship between the Deputies Club and the statutory party authorities, as well as the importance of parliamentary coalition cooperation.

Many documents of varying degrees of importance which define present principles of club activity require fundamental changes or significant modifications. The future form of voivodship deputies teams remains an open matter, because the opposition has still not said whether it would participate in them, or whether it will look for separate solutions of its own. There is uncertainty about the future of the team of Sejm advisers, the concept of a College of Elders [Konwent Seniorow], and similar issues. The coalition would like joint action in these matters, but the opposition has not expressed its

position yet. Consideration is also being given to the idea of granting some deputies leave of absence from their employment (which deputies and according to what criteria?).

Drawing on personal experience, deputies who have already served a term of office began the debate. The novice deputies joined in energetically. There is much controversy and many doubts surround problems such as the deputy's dual responsibility toward voters and toward the party. The idea that the two are somehow mutually exclusive would appear to be artificial. The attitude of deputies toward the government was also considered. The "elders" recalled that during the last term they often acted as a form of opposition with respect to the cabinet. So what are the coalition deputies to do in the present situation, now that the government has acquired a programmatic opposition.... The role of the advisory system was also discussed in terms of the provision of services rather than the imposition of views. Thought was also given to the optimal balance between Sejm work relating to the future and interventions concerning current issues, to the elimination of particularlist divisions and thinking, to how the provision of information to deputies could be speeded up and expanded, and to the prevention of excessive formalities and bureaucracy. Many suggestions were made, including Deputy Roman Ney the creation of party teams in Sejm commissions and means whereby parliament could "question" ministerial candidates.

Next Jozef Czyrek discussed the function of the president in pluralist democratic systems. As we know, the president is to be elected by the National Assembly, which is made up of deputies and senators. The office entails extensive powers and the presidential term of office, being 6 years, is longer than that of parliament. This stems from the particularly important and unifying tasks of the president. So the submission of candidates for the office and the course of voting in the National Assembly are of great domestic and international importance. That is why these questions are the subject of discussion within the Cooperation Commission for coalition parties and associations, talks with the opposition, and the seeking of opinions within the party and outside it. The PZPR Deputies Club meeting is one, exceptionally important, part of the preparations.

The view that prevailed in the debate following the speech was that efforts had to be made to establish a uniform stance among all coalition deputies on this issue. [passage omitted]

City Transport Workers Strike in Bydgoszcz

LD2806104789 Warsaw PAP in English
1008 GMT 28 Jun 89

[Text] Bydgoszcz, June 28—City transport buses and trams did not show up on the streets of Bydgoszcz this morning.

The strike committee, calling itself the representation of the crew but not regarded as such by the OPZZ [National Trade Union Confederation] and Solidarity trade unions in the depot, addressed 13 postulates to the town mayor and linked their fulfilment with the return to work.

The postulates, most of them economic, include such as: liquidation of the precise timetable and of the factory gazette. The town mayor is negotiating with the strikers.

City Transport Strike Ends

LD2806165989 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1600 GMT 28 Jun 89

[Text] The strike by employees of the Bydgoszcz municipal transport enterprise, which began this morning, ended this afternoon. The strikers put forward pay demands, including a rise in the hourly pay rate from Z310 to Z800. After negotiations with representatives of the city authorities—the City People's Council—a new hourly rate averaging Z600 was agreed. Soon after 1600 buses and trams reappeared on Bydgoszcz's streets.

Torun Transport Workers Strike, Demand More Pay

LD2906083189 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
0700 GMT 29 Jun 89

[Text] Our correspondent reports about a strike of the transport enterprise in Torun. The strikers have put forward the same demands as the transport employees from Bydgoszcz yesterday: They are demanding higher hourly rates, the same as have been granted to the Bydgoszcz strikers.

Workers End Strike

LD2906161389 Warsaw PAP in English
1444 GMT 29 Jun 89

[Text] Torun, June 29—The signing of an agreement, similar to the one negotiated in Bydgoszcz on June 28, between the management of the municipal transport enterprise in Torun and the leadership of trade union organization ended the workers' strike over pay issues started this morning.

Buses and trams resumed their normal service early in the afternoon.

National Farmers Union Statement on Prices

LD2806213189 Warsaw PAP in English
2028 GMT 28 Jun 89

[Text] Warsaw, June 28—The National Union of Farmers, rural circles and organizations has assessed the socio-economic situation of rural areas as critical. In connection with that the union demands a full introduction of free market mechanisms into the food economy as of July 1, 1989. Securing the interests of working people of cities and villages is a necessary condition while carrying out the operation.

The union also demands the introduction of new minimal guaranteed procurement prices for basic agricultural products as of July 1, 1989, one that would secure the parity of incomes. With the monopolized procurement and food-processing market a non-fulfilment of these conditions will lead to the deterioration of supplies for the food market and will become a barrier to the growth of agricultural production.

Union Requests Continued Protests

LD2906084489 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0400 GMT 29 Jun 89

[Text] In connection with the dramatic economic situation in rural areas, the NSZZ [Independent Self-Governing Trade Union] Individual Farmers Solidarity Provisional National Council appeals to farmers to continue their protest actions, and to withhold, until further notice, payment of the first and second installments of this year's tax.

Farmer's Solidarity has approached the government, demanding that talks be held in order to resolve problems in rural areas.

Church, State Agree on Radio, TV Programming

LD2806223889 Warsaw PAP in English 2013 GMT 28 Jun 89

[Text] Warsaw, June 28—Suffragan of the diocese of Lodz and head of the episcopate's commission for mass media Bishop Adam Lepa and head of the committee for radio and TV Jerzy Urban signed today an agreement between the committee for radio and TV and secretariat of the conference of Poland's episcopate on the procedure of preparing and airing religious, moral and cultural programmes of the Roman-Catholic church by radio and TV.

The programmes are to be financed by the committee. Church radio programmes, besides the Sunday service that has been beamed by channel 4 for a couple of years, will take 1 hour weekly on channels 1 and 4, while the TV programmes will take 1 hour weekly on all-Poland channels and 15 minutes weekly on regional channels of Katowice and Krakow. The dates of airing the first programmes will be announced later.

Ceremonies, Rally To Mark June Events in Poznan

LD2806231489 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 28 Jun 89

[Text] On the 33rd anniversary of the tragic June events in Poznan, commemorative ceremonies took place in that city at the places where plaques commemorate these events. Flowers were laid at the Hippolit Cegielski Metallurgical Industry Enterprise, the Municipal Transport Enterprise, the Railway Rolling Stock Repair Works, and the (?Raszeja) Hospital. Representatives of several dozen work enterprises and sociopolitical organizations from Poznan and the voivodship also laid wreaths in the afternoon at the June 1956 monument on Adam Mickiewicz Square. In the afternoon at the same place there took place religious ceremonies organised by Solidarity to commemorate the tragic events of 33 years ago.

A rally took place on the Dlugi Targ [Square] in Gdansk on the anniversary of the Poznan events, organized by young people, inter alia under the aegis of Fighting Solidarity, the Federation of Fighting Youth, the Opposition 88 Movement, and the so-called Alternative Society Movement [an anarchist group]. From the Dlugi Targ, the demonstrators marched with anticommunist and anti-Soviet slogans to the building of the Party Voivodship Committee, and then to the headquarters of Solidarity, raising offensive chants at both of these places. The security forces did not intervene.

More on Anti-Soviet Demonstration

LD2906111589 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0200 GMT 29 Jun 89

[Text] Taking advantage of the anniversary of the Poznan events, some 100 youths staged a demonstration in Gdansk under anti-communist and anti-Soviet slogans. Abu[illegible]e slogans were painted on walls in front of the party voivodship committee and abuse was shouted in front of the headquarters of the independent self-governing trade union Solidarity. The security forces did not intervene.

Similar demonstrations were held in Poznan and Bielsko-Biala.

Gdansk Jurist Assesses Parliamentary Elections

PM2906082589 Gdansk DZIENNIK BALTYCKI in Polish 15 Jun 89 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Dr Leszek Starosta, jurist and political scientist at Gdansk University State and Law Department, by DZIENNIK BALTYCKI correspondent Stanislawa Czerska; date, place not given]

[Excerpt] [Czerska] How do you assess the first round of parliamentary elections from this short perspective, which has, nevertheless, already proved extremely important for the political life of our country?

[Starosta] Such an assessment is already suggested by the results of the election. Victory for Solidarity on a scale surpassing even its own expectations, and a defeat for the coalition, again exceeding its expectations...

[Czerska] ...which means that both sides were simply taken aback by the outcome.

[Starosta] Yes, although certainly they were not taken aback to the same extent. This is because the opposition had expected that the results of the election would give it an advantage. On the other hand, teams of analysts

working on the coalition's side persisted until the end in assuring their headquarters of reasonably favorable election prognoses. This had a reassuring effect until it became apparent that the optimistic forecasts did not come true.

Defeats in politics are especially painful when they are unexpected. And they are, as a rule, unexpected for those who base their forecasts on an erroneous diagnosis of the social situation.

[Czerska] Is this the only reason you see for the defeat suffered by the coalition in the elections?

[Starosta] No, it is certainly not the only one. The reasons which determined the decisions of the overwhelming majority of the electorate were substantially more complex.

In the first place, society reacted clearly and unequivocally to the obvious consequences of our civilization crisis and against the uncontrolled institutional power wielded, to all intents and purposes, by the one ruling party. Against this background, the so-called "vindicatory moods" of the population, which had until then been suppressed, came finally to the fore and found their expression in the competitive election battles.

Second, the initial round of the elections constitutes a blunt expression of the population's wholesale disapproval of the monocentric system of power and its accompanying, characteristic methods of steering and controlling public life.

Third, the coalition's election campaign bore clear signs of dilettantism. Its procedures for appointing candidates proved decidedly ineffectual, and the whole promotional campaign was dull, lifeless, and poorly coordinated. The maneuver of putting up the national list without representatives of one of the two major sides of the roundtable talks had simply disastrous political consequences. The coalition turned out to be drastically short on both ideas and competence in its election campaign. And, above all else, it failed to muster the necessary enthusiasm.

The opposition, meanwhile, had all these trumps at its disposal and it played them in the game. This could not fail to bring substantial winnings. In the political game, these count far more than even the noblest and loftiest intentions and efforts.

[Czerska] Your assessment is both firmly documented and very severe. Perhaps too severe?

[Starosta] It is merely objective.

[Czerska] Nevertheless we must take into account the fact that party candidates were democratically appointed which, after all, prolonged the appointment procedure and subsequently reduced the opportunities for launching a vigorous election campaign.

[Starosta] Democracy is not invariably accompanied by political efficiency. As I said, election battles are won only with election results.

[Czerska] And I see the confirmation of this in the existing situation.

[Starosta] I am glad we have come to see eye to eye.

[Czerska] Let us then return to the principal subject of our conversation. Can we say that a completely new political situation developed in the country after 4 June?

[Starosta] Most certainly. The process of a gradual transfer to a parliamentary power system, which had been initiated at the roundtable talks, has suddenly become greatly accelerated. And we should remember that we have opted for a system of parliamentary democracy, accommodating certain features of the presidential model of government, as the one that can offer us the fundamental guarantee of the implementation of radical reforms of the state and the economy.

But the parliamentary power system is not only a model—imposed by decree—of the structure of political institutions. This model also includes democratic mechanisms for the exercise of public power. Consequently, we not only have a paradigm for the sociopolitical system, but also a model of democratic political practice based on the system's infrastructure.

[Czerska] How is this political practice manifested?

[Starosta] Mainly by respecting the wishes of the majority—expressed under conditions of political pluralism—in public life, while at the same time observing the norms that define the framework of political struggle.

The wishes of the majority can be clearly construed on the basis of the results of the first round of the elections. Many commentators have said outright that the coalition's election defeat constitutes nothing less than a public expression of a vote of no confidence. I would add here that this negative verdict, which was expressed very firmly in a plebiscite-type vote, refers largely to the undemocratic methods of controlling society which have been practiced in this country for more than 40 years.

In any case, the problem of social legitimacy of power has now been most openly acknowledged in Poland's political forum. And it is not a problem that can be taken off the agenda in a month, a year, or a couple of years.

[Czerska] It seems that it was not just the results of the first round of the elections that have highlighted this problem. It was perceived and recognized as serious by the reform-oriented government coalition circles at a much earlier date...

[Starosta] Indeed. The problem appeared much earlier, but it was not until the announcement of the results of the elections that it assumed the status of a major political problem.

[Czerska] Does this affect the present situation and if so, how?

[Starosta] I think it affects it to a very large extent. The coalition parties have found themselves in a very difficult situation. They must now make a tremendous effort to try and win back the public confidence which they have so obviously lost.

It is to be hoped that there will be no shortage of young people in the ranks of those coalition crusaders: a generation of young people who are not weighed down by the psychological burden of the past and who will be ready to make the necessary effort. This is of tremendous importance for the evolutionary process of building a system of parliamentary democracy and in general for the future of the Polish experiment.

[Czerska] Why do you regard this issue as so very important?

[Starosta] One of the features of the pluralist structure of power characteristic of the system of highly developed parliamentary democracy is that a relative balance is maintained between the assets at the disposal of the ruling camp and those at the disposal of opposition groups. Given such a situation, the opposing forces are able to control one another and at the same time are jointly responsible for maintaining a state of relative political stability. Given our circumstances, such a balance of power cannot be maintained in Poland in the long run if it is to be based exclusively on the contract drawn up in the roundtable talks. It is to be expected that the existing government coalition will initiate an attempt to improve its image in the eyes of the public and muster an increase in the public support it enjoys. Should it fail to achieve these ends, we would face the danger of the rise of a new form of political monocentrism, with today's opposition in the leading role. Striving for a structurally safeguarded political domination with its attendant security of institutionally guaranteed government has tempted and beguiled many a politician in the past. The only problem is that under such conditions it is impossible to establish a working system of parliamentary democracy. Instead, authoritarian tendencies tend to come to the fore.

[Czerska] And it appears that in our situation this danger is certainly not an imaginary one, does it not?

[Starosta] On the contrary, it is very real. But I do not think that the present configuration of political sympathies will remain unchanged forever. The credit of confidence extended to the opposition will doubtless undergo some fluctuations as soon as the opposition is forced to make certain choices. When, for example, in parliament, it declares itself in support of the interests of certain groups and against those of others. From this viewpoint, it is much more difficult to operate within political decisionmaking circles than outside them, from the position of illegal opponents of the authorities in power.

[Czerska] Are the difficulties you are discussing here the only "pitfalls" of the transition period?

[Starosta] There are many more. A very serious danger is posed by the habitual patterns of behavior demonstrated by the chief partners of the April agreement and stemming from their attachment to the specific political roles they have been assigned. The durability of the "authorities versus opposition" alignment in our postwar history has forged a certain pattern of experience. Political pluralism denotes not only a socially representative institutional structure but also specific rules of political interplay which enable various political forces to assume leadership positions in the state. These rules—and I must stress this again—are based on principles whose legitimacy has been sanctioned by the will of the majority of the public. Respecting such principles allows us to conduct our political battles with mutual—albeit qualified—trust, to come to terms with our defeats more easily, and to adjust ourselves to the new roles we are required to play. The flexibility of these roles is already permanently written into the system of parliamentary democracy.

[Czerska] In this context, how do you see our immediate future, that is, life in Poland after the elections?

[Starosta] Viewed from this angle, there will be one fundamental difficulty we will have to face: that of appointing a competent government. A government which would be at least accepted by both our major political forces. It seems that the only feasible and reasonably clearly outlined solution that we could accept today is to appoint a cabinet of experts composed of persons who until now have not been involved in so-called big politics. Faced with the vastly complex task of restoring Polish economy to health, such a government would have to receive extensive plenipotentiary powers from both parliamentary chambers, which would enable it to implement an outline program of radical transformations in the sphere of the economy and outside it. Such a program would have to be sanctioned by a normative Sejm decree and receive further endorsement from the authority of the Senate itself. This kind of compromise political solution in the shape of a government of experts would also keep at bay—at least temporarily—the danger of either side blocking the other's initiatives in parliament. An impasse created by such a deadlock could lead directly to a parliamentary crisis and thereby undermine the still fragile foundations of the Polish experiment.

[Czerska] The question whether we will be able to avoid such dangerous situations that could have disastrous consequences for our future will be decided by the people whom we entrust with our parliamentary mandates.

[Starosta] Yes, to a large extent. Shifting the momentum of the political battle to the parliamentary forum will incommensurably increase the responsibility of those who will assume their seats in that forum. We must hope that most of them will be able to prove their suitability for parliamentary practice not only by displays of political temperament but also by their accumulated store of knowledge and appropriate political qualifications. These qualities allow parliamentarians to distance themselves from preexisting prejudices and thought patterns and prevent them from subscribing to the practice of resolving conflicts according to the principle of "all or nothing" or from treating political adversaries as deadly enemies... [passage omitted]

Daily Views Pact's Military Defense Doctrine

AU2906074289 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 26 Jun 89 p 4

[Unattributed NOVOSTI article 'specially for ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI': "The Defense Doctrine of the Warsaw Pact States"]

[Text] Political means of settling international conflicts and disputes are the only permissible way of guaranteeing universal and national security in the space and nuclear age. That is the idea behind the Warsaw Pact's modern military doctrine.

The document entitled "Concerning the Military Doctrine of the Warsaw Pact Member-States," adopted by the Political Consultative Committee in May 1987, clearly indicates the defensive nature of socialism's military strategy. Successive provisions of this doctrine are being expounded on the basis of a realistic assessment of world processes at a time of restructuring of the domestic and foreign policies of the countries belonging to the defense alliance. Generally speaking, the doctrine consists of the following fundamental political and military-technical aspects:

General Principles

—In the current situation, there is no alternative to peaceful coexistence, competition, and cooperation between countries belonging to different systems;
—A respect for the freedom of social development of nations is one of the most important prerequisites for international security and stability;
—The countries of the socialist community do not consider any country or people as an enemy, and have no territorial claims against any country in and outside Europe;
—There can be no victors in a nuclear war;
—Security can only be reciprocal, based on a balance of interests and balance of military forces (military-strategic parity) at the lowest possible level.

Military Commitments and the Principles of Building a Military Complex

—A strictly defensive and purely vengeful nature of military action;
—The commitment not to be the first to use a nuclear weapon;
—Preserving military potentials at a level of sensible sufficiency necessary to ensure defense;
—Adapting the structure, equipment, and deployment of armed forces to defense tasks;
—Preserving the capability to firmly repel an eventual aggression.

The New Shape of Military Doctrine

In accordance with today's interpretation, the Warsaw Pact's military doctrine is a "system of officially approved fundamental views on how to prevent war, build a military complex, prepare Warsaw Pact countries and their armed forces to repel aggression, and conduct military activity in defense of socialism." It is usual for Warsaw Pact military doctrine to contain two sides, a political side, and a military-technical side. As far as the political side is concerned, its substance boils down to a commitment by the socialist countries to the cause of peace, with a readiness to defend it in the event of a surprise attack.

The military-technical side of the doctrine is subordinated to the political side, and establishes: a) the nature of the military threat, the type of military action that is required, and the tasks stemming from this action; b) the armed forces that are needed to perform these tasks; c) the level of preparedness for the armed forces to solve the basic tasks facing them, and the necessary curricula for soldiers' training. This side of the defense doctrine defines the main criteria necessary to maintain the combat readiness of the armed forces of the Warsaw Pact.

What Have the Warsaw Pact States Abandoned, and What Have They Added to Their Military Doctrine

The military doctrine of the USSR and its allies also possessed a defensive nature earlier. Whereas it was the political side to the doctrine that established its defensive nature (the socialist countries were the first to undertake not to start a war against anyone), the military-technical side possessed a militant nature (an attack was considered the main way to repel an aggression). This discrepancy has now been removed.

The task of "preventing war" has been added to the basic provisions of the doctrine for the first time. This task forms the supreme goal and nucleus of the doctrine and is of great political significance.

First, the Warsaw Pact countries hold that not only a general nuclear war, but also a widespread conventional war in Europe would have catastrophic effects on the whole of mankind. Having rejected the "theoretical" justification of the possibilities of their own victory in a third world war, the socialist countries have convinced political and military aktivists and world opinion that there can be no victors at all in such a war.

Second, the new military doctrine also reflects the following truth: The likelihood of a new war depends not only on foreign policy and diplomacy, but also on the strategy employed in establishing a military potential. Up to a certain limit, a quantitative increase in defense capability really does serve to prevent a war. However, as soon as this limit is exceeded, defense systems become a threat, however peaceful the foreign policy of the relevant country might be. In other words, Warsaw Pact doctrine in its present shape requires that the composition of armed forces and the numbers and types of armaments in their possession be strictly adapted to the level of military threat and to the actual relationship between the military potentials of each side.

The reality is such that security and the building of a military potential in Warsaw Pact countries cannot be considered in isolation from security and the building of a military potential in NATO countries, and vice versa. However, such an interdependence should have a positive effect. The Warsaw Pact considers such a positive effect to be the new elastic and compromise-like policy of the opposing blocs; the efforts to overcome the anachronisms of confrontation and the reasons for the suspicion and mistrust between the blocs; and the activity aimed at creating a new structure of international relations in which there would be less and less room for elements of force.

Major changes have also occurred in the military-technical side to the doctrine. At present, its defensive nature is finding practical expression in concrete strategic solutions aimed at reorganizing national armed forces and preparing them in an operational and combat sense.

From the point of view of the art of war, defense operations are becoming the central feature of the strategy of the Warsaw Pact armed forces. This strategy completely rules out the possibility of any preemptive strike, regardless of the political circumstances in favor of such a strike. New views about the nature and effects of modern warfare have led to the abandonment of planned wide-scale strategic operations by offensive land forces in order to achieve "victorious results." Counter-offensive action is viewed in more realistic terms. Its purpose is to halt the aggressor, reestablish the status quo ante, and prevent an escalation of military action and a loss of control by both sides over this action. This is the underlying thought behind the preparations of armies and fleets, and this is the principle behind all fundamental documents, including combat regulations.

Concerning the structure and deployment of armed forces, a strong reorganization of forces is taking place, with particular emphasis on a reduction of offensive forces, especially along the lines of possible confrontation, and of the entire offensive potential. Major importance is attached to an expansion of different branches of armed forces that is as closely balanced as possible, and to a qualitative improvement to these armed forces that corresponds totally to the principle of reasonable defense sufficiency and does not present a provocation vis-a-vis the other side. In this connection, many military-technical programs are being revised, and work on and the production of arms and military systems, especially strike systems, is being curtailed.

How Does Warsaw Pact Military Doctrine Differ From NATO Military Concepts?

The main difference between the military concepts of the two sides is that the Warsaw Pact does not recognize the "wisdom" of politics from a position of strength, which the NATO command continues to extol officially. Although both sides declare their devotion to peace and underline the defensive nature of their military preparations, an entire series of provisions of NATO doctrine are conspicuous for the inflexible stance expressed therein, which the Warsaw Pact interprets as a challenge and political-psychological pressure.

When the USSR, with the full support of its allies, puts forth a program to rid the world of nuclear weapons, the United States, Great Britain, and France believe that nuclear "restrictions" and a "flexible reaction" concept should continue to be the alpha and omega of NATO defense strategy. The North Atlantic Pact's shunning of a commitment not to be the first to use a nuclear weapon is a continuation of this stance.

Actually, the NATO military-political leadership does not deny the possibility of an "overpowering" preemptive strike if the "situation calls for it." The very way of thinking represented by the idea of a first strike carries a highly negative and dangerous psychological payload. It increases the likelihood of an error in assessing the situation, and may play a fatal role by initiating an armed conflict which might have been avoided.

Although officially the NATO command recognizes the possibility of a victory in a nuclear war, the entire construction of a military potential in the United States and other major countries of the North Atlantic pact is taking place according to the principle: "If it is impossible to stop a war, then it should be fought and completed according to conditions that are favorable for the West." This is also the reasoning behind the present plans for military operations involving a deployment of armed forces along the opponent's entire line of defense. This is also the source of the inflexibility and aggressiveness of

some of the NATO command's military-strategic principles, which involve the need to achieve military-technical superiority over the Warsaw Pact. Such assumptions pose the threat of a new arms spiral, and cancel out the idea of reducing the level of military confrontation.

Warsaw Pact Military Doctrine and Disarmament Issues

The Warsaw Pact's new doctrinal views are directly geared to a search for a constructive compromise with NATO in order to tidy up arms controls. Combining unilateral steps with bilateral and multilateral agreements on reducing strategic offensive weapons and other nuclear and conventional armed forces and armaments is the road which the Soviet Union and its allies intend to tread constantly. This road completely conforms to the defensive essence of Warsaw Pact military doctrine. The members of this alliance have committed themselves to pursuing paths of action leading to the following objectives, among others:

—The soonest possible complete and universal ban on nuclear tests, as the first step in the work of stopping the design, production, and improvement of nuclear weapons; gradually reducing and completely eliminating these weapons; and preventing the arms race from spreading to space;

—A ban on and elimination of chemical and other types of mass-destruction weapons;

—A reduction of conventional armed forces and armaments to a level at which neither side, having guaranteed defense resources, possesses enough resources to carry out a surprise attack on the other side or expand offensive operations around the world;

—Close control over all resources and disarmament steps;

—A simultaneous abolition of the North Atlantic pact and Warsaw Pact and the creation of a system of universal international security.

Military Doctrine and Military Confidence Measures

Thanks to the great openness and clarity of the way in which the Warsaw Pact countries have built their military potential, and thanks to their readiness to make their own contribution to the creation of a fail-safe mechanism to block armed conflicts and consolidate international security, the Warsaw Pact countries are earning increasing recognition from world opinion. The Warsaw Pact holds the view that all countries should abandon methods of confrontation and seek effective forms and methods of cooperation in the military sphere. Combining the efforts of Warsaw Pact and NATO military bodies in the struggle to prevent war is not an easy task.

The first stage of this task could involve abandoning prejudices, restructuring the doctrines of both alliances, and examining the paths of their further development, taking into account the realities and global problems mankind is facing. The achievement of this objective might be encouraged by the formation of a European center dealing with a reduction in military danger and a prevention of unexpected aggression, and by an expansion of confidence measures to include navies and strategic and tactical air forces.

To remove the mutual suspicion that has been accumulating for years and achieve a better understanding of the other side's intentions, one must have the desire to take matters the way they are and throw away the rotting banners of the cold war era. The USSR and its allies are ready for a more open and intensive exchange of military concepts and opinions, and of experiences in building a defense potential.

RCP Plenum Ends, Congress Set for 20-25 Nov

AU2806133889 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1310 GMT 28 Jun 89

["Conclusion of Plenary Meeting of Central Committee of Romanian Communist Party"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 28/06/1989—The plenary meeting of the CC [Central Committee] of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party] continued on June 28 under the chairmanship of Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party.

The participants in the debates most enthusiastically sustained the proposal of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP on the re-election at the 14th RCP Congress of Nicolae Ceausescu to the supreme office of general secretary of the RCP, expressing the confidence that his re-election to the highest leading office of the party was the guarantee of the country's steady development and thriving, of Romania's steady advance on the road to socialism and communism.

The speakers expressed their full accord with the program documents submitted to the plenum for debate.

After the conclusion of the debates, the endorsement started of the documents included in the agenda.

The plenum unanimously decided the calling of the 14th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party, whose proceedings will take place over November 20-25, 1989.

Expressing the wish of the party, of the Romanian nation, all attendance in enthusing unanimity endorsed the decision of the plenary meeting of the CC of the RCP regarding the nomination of Nicolae Ceausescu for re-election at the 14th Congress of the party to the supreme office of RCP general secretary.

In connection with the issues regarding the preparation and unfolding of the congress a resolution was unanimously endorsed which is to be released.

The draft master program of the 14th Congress of the RCP on Romania's socio-economic development in 1991-1995 and the long-term orientations by 2000-2010 was unanimously endorsed.

Unanimously endorsed were also the draft theses for the 14th Congress of the RCP on the development of the Romanian society, the improved socio-economic management, developed revolutionary worker democracy, enhanced role of the Romanian Communist Party and the ideological, political and educative activity, a higher level of scientific knowledge, culture and revolutionary consciousness, the balance of forces and the fundamental characteristics of the international situation.

After completion, based on the proposals advanced during the plenary meeting, the two documents will be released and submitted for debate to the whole party and people.

The plenum endorsed the draft single national plan of socio- economic development of the Socialist Republic of Romania for 1990, which will be debated in the bodies of revolutionary worker democracy and submitted to the Grand National Assembly.

The resolution of the plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the party was also endorsed and will be released.

Nicolae Ceausescu took the floor at the close of the plenary meeting proceedings.

Ceausescu Delivers Closing Speech

AU2806192689 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1746 GMT 28 Jun 89

["Nicolae Ceausescu's Closing Speech at the CC of the RCP Plenary Meeting"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 28/6/1989—In a lengthy speech at the end of the plenary meeting of the CC [Central Committee] of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party] on Wednesday, 28 June, Nicolae Ceausescu underlined the significance of the questions that were discussed and of the documents that were adopted. In reference to the plenary meeting's decision that the 14th RCP Congress be held from 20 to 25 November 1989 and to the adoption of the master programme and of the theses for the congress that are to be published and discussed in the party, in mass and public organizations, the speaker said:

This wide-ranging democratic debate in the party and with all people continues, in fact, the debate that has been going on until now on the basis of the April 1988 theses and of the documents of the great democratic forum held last November. The master programme and the theses for the 14th congress can be said to sum up the year-long debate in the party with all people, and to be an embodiment of the thought and revolutionary conscience, the will of the entire nation unswervingly to implement the party programme of building the multilaterally developed socialist society and of Romania's firm advance to communism.

The documents that the Central Committee plenum adopted in full unanimity and that are to be discussed by the whole party and the people, to be put before the 14th congress of the party make a scientific analysis of the road covered by the Romanian people in its economic and social development, in the formation of the nation and of the unitary Romanian national state, in the general advancement of the forces of production, science, culture, as well as of the big achievements in socialist construction, and of the development stage the

Romanian socialist society is at. With this as a basis, the master programme and the theses set the orientations for our country's development in the new stage until 2000-2010.

The development level of Romania, of our people is such that an analysis, no matter how brief, of its history, of the long way it has gone from the first centralized state of the Dacians 2060 years ago to this day is a vital necessity.

The whole history of our country is the outcome of heavy battles fought arm in hand against foreign domination, for progress, liberty and independence by the masses, by the entire people, the true maker of our nation, of economic and social progress, the RCP general secretary underscored.

After emphasizing the outstanding importance of essential moments of that struggle—the union of the Romanian principalities in 1989, the proclamation of Romania's independence in 1877, the union of Transylvania with Romania, the historic act of August 1944, the RCP general secretary said: After 23 August 1944, the Romanian Army together with the entire people waged heroic fights alongside the Soviet Army to completely free the homeland from the Hitlerite and Horthyist Armies and, afterwards, to liberate Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Austria till the final victory over Hitler's Germany. At the same time, revolutionary fights were waged in the country for its democratic development and a passage was made to the building of the new social system. In this short lapse of time, the unity of the working-class was achieved, the United Workers' Party was set up, the unity of all patriotic, democratic forces and of the people as a whole was strengthened, appropriate conditions being thus created for a transition to the successful building of socialism. In the forty years of socialist construction, more particularly after the Ninth Party Congress in 1965, the Romanian people, led by our glorious Communist Party, traversed several historical stages and reached such a socioeconomic development and general civilization level as it could not be achieved in hundreds of years or throughout capitalist development and this is something that I would particularly emphasize. All these are facts which prove that only when capitalist exploitation and oppression, foreign domination were liquidated and a passage was made to the building of the new system, socialism, we could have these wonderful achievements in the general development of the homeland. It is with good reason that both the master programme and the theses for the Fourteenth Party Congress refer at length to the strong development of production forces in the territory, to the marked growth of fixed assets, house and cultural constructions which radically changed the look of our homeland, the general standard of living of the whole nation. No doubt there were difficulties and shortfalls, there was a time when abuses were made, the socialist laws were violated, but our Communist Party drew the appropriate conclusions, especially after the Ninth Congress, and took measures for the complete liquidation of those states of affairs so that such illegalities should no longer occur. Due measures were taken for the powerful development of revolutionary worker democracy, a new democratic framework being set up apt to ensure the active participation of the whole people in the purposeful making of its free and independent, socialist and communist future.

The RCP general secretary stressed that all in all socialism has proved its might and vigour and that it is mankind's future of freedom and welfare, of equality and peace. In consideration of our achievements, of the successes scored in the general development of socialism, the speaker showed, we must take a firm attitude against any attempts to denigrate socialism. We think that the concern with a better development of socialism in various countries should not bring a negation or underrating of the might of socialism but assert the force and superiority of socialism which represents the future of the whole of mankind. One should firmly reject the attempts of the reactionary, imperialist circles to destabilize and blacken socialism for the obvious purpose of checking or, at least, delaying, in one way or another, the peoples' march or progress toward liquidating oppression and inequality, toward a better and more just world. We must strongly emphasize that only socialism can provide conditions for the elimination of backwardness, of poverty, for genuine economic and social progress, for welfare and happiness, for a lasting peace, for collaboration among all peoples. Stressing the importance of applying the general laws of social development, the principles of scientific socialism to the conditions and realities in each country, Nicolae Ceausescu said: While taking into account that socialism is built in conditions differing from one country to another, that there are no patterns or models, we must continually bear in mind the fact that socialism can only be achieved on the basis of the principles of scientific socialism, of eliminating inequalities, man's oppression by man, of the creation of new production relations, of true social justice. At the same time, we must strongly emphasize the fundamental, decisive role of socialist ownership of the production means, the fact that the entire people's ownership and cooperative ownership are vital requirements for the building of the new social system. This objectively calls for ceaseless action aimed at the strengthening and development of socialist ownership, the improvement of means and their appropriate management by working collectives. Private ownership of the main production means, the division of society into antagonistic classes, into oppressors and oppressed is in fact a violation of the objective laws of nature and social development, the outcome of violence and force. The very social development, the development of science and technology has led to the creation of the large-scale industry, of collective social work, very much as life shows that only large property in agriculture provides the conditions for the continual development of the production forces. What socialism must achieve is the abolition of private ownership over the production means and their transfer into the hands of the true masters, the workers, the intellectuals, the transfer of the land into the peasants' hands as part of producer cooperative farms, of large socialist

property. Any diminution of the role of large socialist industrial and agricultural property, the return to certain forms of capitalist property, even small property means retrograding by several decades, endangering not only the development of socialism but the very socioeconomic development of the peoples, their welfare and independence. We should not forget Lenin's theses that: "small property generates capitalism and bourgeoisie continually, every day and every hour, spontaneously and in a mass proportion".

The RCP general secretary reviewed the achievements scored in the development of Romanian industry and agriculture in the first three years of the current five-year plan period, as well as in the six months that have elapsed of this year, mentioning that every condition was in place for the fulfilment of the plan for the whole year in these basic branches of the economy. Referring to the cereal production of the current farm year, the speaker showed that based on the results so far a record harvest of over 7,000 kg per hectare was expected with barley, and the best production so far was also estimated with wheat.

Highlighting that Romania scored important results in every sector of socioeconomic activity, Nicolae Ceausescu said: It is necessary for us to mention that all these achievements of the whole quinquennium and of the entire decade have been obtained in the hard conditions of the world economic crisis which has affected all the states of the world, the developing countries in particular, especially since 1980. The social and economic development of our homeland has created the necessary conditions for the yearly payment of the foreign debt and its liquidation in March, this year.

As was mentioned before, this represents a great victory bearing witness to the force of our economy which has enabled us to secure the country's true independence and sovereignty, no longer to depend on and pay tribute to anyone—whatever form this might take, since interest too is an instance of usury, a tribute. We have liquidated the foreign debt while earmarking over 2,000 billion lei—the equivalent of roughly 200 billion dollars—for the homeland's socioeconomic development this decade. At the same time, since 1980 the working people's real remuneration has been raised twice and all pensions have grown. As is known, starting last year the lowest pay has risen from 1,500 to 2,000 lei monthly and until the end of July all working people will benefit by higher wages. At the same time, state-financed sociocultural expenses have grown from 9,975 lei per family in 1980 to 12,436 lei in 1985 to 14,900 lei in this five-year plan period, until 1990. In broad lines, a general rise in the entire people's material and spiritual living standards has been recorded proving with the force of facts that everything we achieve in Romania serves the homeland's development, the people's welfare, the upgrading of the entire nation's material and spiritual living standards—the supreme goal of our party's policy, the essence of the multilaterally-developed socialist society we are successfully building in Romania.

Also, in the first half of this year we have written off the debts of cooperative producer farms worth over 113 billion lei, which demonstrates both the force of the national economy and of the financial system and the just policy of backing the development of agriculture with a view to ensuring the growth of its contribution to the country's general development.

All the achievements of this five-year-plan period as well as everything we have accomplished in the years of socialism prove, with the power of undeniable facts, our Communist Party's just policy of creatively applying the objective laws of the principles of scientific socialism to the realities of our homeland. The remarkable achievements in our homeland's development powerfully demonstrate the superiority of socialism, the fact that only when the people really become the masters of their own destinies backwardness can be eradicated in a relatively short period of time, socioeconomic progress, the country's well-being, independence and sovereignty can be ensured. We should point out that everything we have accomplished is the result of the work full of abnegation of our wonderful working class, peasantry and intelligentsia, of all working people regardless of nationality, of our whole people, who in full unity steadfastly carry out our homeland's domestic and foreign policy, ensuring Romania's access to higher levels of progress and civilization. Referring to the socioeconomic development plan for 1990, unanimously endorsed by the plenary meeting, Nicolae Ceausescu showed that it ensures the best implementation of the provisions for the entire 1986-1990 five-year period. In 1990, the industrial marketable production will increase by about 40 per cent from 1985 and the farm production by about 35 per cent. The implementation of the plan for this year and for 1990 in the best conditions the speaker said, will provide for a rise in the overall development level of our homeland and the passage to a new level and stage of our socialist society creating the necessary conditions for the passage to the fulfilment of the ninth five-year plan and Romania's development prospects until the year 2000.

An important part of President Nicolae Ceausescu's speech refers to the guidelines for the long-term development of the Romanian society until the year 2000 and beyond, into early third millennium. Considering the current stage, in the ninth five-year period and until the year 2000, the speaker said, we must secure the further growth of production forces with the stress falling on intensive development in all fields as a basic requisite for the fulfilment of our party and people's strategic aim. Although in many domains, the physical production is up to the standards in the most developed countries, we must work so as to improve and modernize the activity in the next five-year period and until the year 2000 for a higher performance and quality and the best capitalization of raw materials, of the productive potential of our people. In consideration of the 1990 development level, one may estimate that by 2000-2005, the industrial production will grow twice and a stable output of 40-45 million tons cereals can be secured, the national income can be twice

higher, and the civilization level, the people's standard of living materially and spiritually will grow on this basis. All this requires firmer action for the development of technological-scientific research, to make Romania a strong force of technico-scientific progress, with a high technico-scientific level in all fields by the end of the second millennium and early in the third.

In that context, Nicolae Ceausescu stressed the wide scope and importance of the tasks scientific research and education of all grades had to assume, also emphasizing the measures needed for environmental protection and conservancy.

The master programme, showed he, ensures the harmonious thriving of the national economy, relying on the development of both industry and agriculture, as basic branches, and, correspondingly, of the other fields offering far-reaching prospects for the rise of our homeland onto a higher level of development, on higher peaks of progress ad civilization.

Continuing his speech, the RCP general secretary emphasized the conditions provided for Romania's active participation in the international division of labour, in the exchange of material and cultural assets with other states of the world, regardless of social system. Romania's economic exchanges and cooperation in production with other states the speaker showed, have increased more than 45 times against 1950. An important place is held by cooperation and economic exchanges with the socialist countries, which account for some 50 per cent of our foreign trade volume. Economic relations with the developing countries have grown continually and they account for some 25 per cent today. The ties with the developed capitalist countries have also developed to account today for 25 per cent of Romania's foreign trade. Considering the present level of international exchanges, as well as the programme of socioeconomic development of the homeland, we envisage expanding economic exchanges and cooperation in production with all states, regardless of social system. As the guidelines point out, foreign trade activity should develop much more strongly until the year 2000, and exports should account for at least 30 per cent of the total marketable output. I believe I must stress the important role CMEA [CEMA] has been playing in the development of cooperation and collaboration among the member socialist countries, as well as the need for a much more active collaboration with all socialist countries. There is currently much talk within CMEA about the questions related to the improvement of economic activity. Some economists affirm that the CMEA principles should be given up and they recommend us to take the common market and the common market principles as a basis. It is obvious that such suggestions are altogether alien to socialism and to CMEA. In our opinion, the present framework and basic principles of CMEA are an adequate basis and should provide a framework for future collaboration. But this calls for the unflinching implementation of the provisions in the CMEA charter on the need for a relatively balanced level of the member countries' development. While improving the forms and relations of collaboration and cooperation, of production specialization, one should take into account the need for developing all national economies, for a relatively equal development, and ensure the greatest possible economic, technical and scientific independence of the member countries. Without isolating itself, developing its collaboration with the common market and other regional bodies, CMEA should preserve its independence and have a much more active role in ensuring the social and economic progress of its member countries. In general, we consider that during the ongoing development stage and for many years to come the maintenance of the socioeconomic independence of the CMEA countries, of other states is a vital necessity and any side-stepping will entail negative effects. In this spirit, Romania is determined to play full part in CMEA's activity, in carrying out the programmes jointly adopted until the year 2000, the same as it is resolved to develop relationships with various other economic bodies, both within CMEA and bilaterally, expanding its collaboration and cooperation, I repeat, with all states of the world, regardless of social system. Taking into consideration the present difficult economic problems, the strong manifestations of the world economic crisis and the serious aggravation of the developing countries' situation, it is necessary that the old practices of inequality and oppression should be removed, that new interstate principles should be reached allowing the economic and social development, of the independence of all nations, ensuring the stability of the world economy and the progress of each people. It presupposes a radical improvement in the international financial system, the definite renunciation of the practice of conditioning the economic relations on considerations of political or other nature.

It is necessary that all states and especially the international economic organizations, the world banks, should give up the practice of granting credits only if they are meant for capitalist-private properties. On the contrary, it would be normal for the international banks to grant credits particularly for socioeconomic development on the basis of the state and cooperative ownership which ensures the peoples true socioeconomic independence and represents the future.

Alongside other states, Romania is ready to take full part in the joint elaboration of measures regarding the settlement of major economic issues, of the developing countries' foreign debts, in the elaboration of new principles for the international economic relationships. They are an objective prerequisite for promoting social and economic progress, overcoming the world economic and social crisis, for building a better and more just world.

Approaching aspects related to improving the material and spiritual standard of living of the people, Nicolae Ceausescu said: We shall solve by 1995 the problem of housing in towns, and the working and living conditions in villages will also improve greatly. In our whole activity we shall start from the necessity of ensuring all our country's citizens such conditions of work, of education

that all young people should have jobs and participate in the activity devoted to the economic and social development of the homeland, according to their own capacity and force.

We must continuously improve our system of remuneration based on socialist equity and ethics, so that the incomes of all categories of working people should closely depend on work. No one in this country must be able to make unearned incomes or exploit the work of others. In pursuing an equitable ratio between higher and lower incomes, which by the year 2000 will be of 1 to 4.5, we must see to it that the minimal remuneration level secures an adequate, dignified standard of living to all members of our society. Small pensions will also have to meet these requirements. In general, we shall have to pay a greater deal of attention to the meeting of some general needs from social funds, this being a very important factor in ensuring the general standard of living of the whole nation.

Socialism must ensure all citizens, without any discrimination, equal conditions of work and life, of manifestation of human personality. By no means shall profiteering, inequalities be accepted in the name of the so-called market socialism.

Pointing out the significance of the scientific thesis of building socialism with the people and for the people, we have broadly developed revolutionary worker democracy, achieving a democratic framework which is unique in its way. In this activity we started and we start from the fact that organizational and management forms must be continuously improved, in keeping with the development of production forces, of social relations with the new advances in science and human knowledge in general. At the same time, we must permanently keep in mind that the improvement of the management and planning activity must ensure a unitary management on the basis of the master plan for the development of the whole work of building the socialist society.

The just interwining of the activity of state bodies with the activity of the democratic bodies of the people's masses should achieve a new democracy, superior to any form of bourgeoise democracy. In the future too we shall have to improve the management and planning bodies, the democratic bodies starting from the fact that under no circumstances society will renounce its development based on clear socialist principles of property, of work, of remuneration. The stronger the general development of the production forces, science and culture, of the other sectors, the greater the need for democratic bodies, for the unitary management of the entire economic and social activity. In this spirit we must take the firmest action for a higher responsibility and better management of the entire activity on the basis of the country's laws, for the strengthening of discipline and order in all fields of activity. It is our permanent aim to increase continuously the role of the working class and of the working people in general in the management of all sectors of activity. Only on this basis will the revolutionary-worker democracy develop and the principle of building socialism with the people and for the people be translated into fact.

Referring to the demand to further improve the fighting capability and political training of the armed forces which, under all circumstance, should be ready to defend the country's independence and sovereignty, the revolutionary socialist achievements of our whole people, Nicolae Ceausescu said: In strengthening the defence capacity of the country we have started from the fact that the Army should collaborate closely with the patriotic guards, with the youth military training, units because the defence of the homeland, of the revolutionary gains is the cause of the entire people and only together and in close unity with the whole people will the army be able always to fulfil its duties to the people, to the cause of socialism, of Romania's independence and sovereignty. At the same time, we consider that we must reduce arming and military expenditures to the strictly necessary, which we did, as a matter of fact constantly in the last 20 years. As regards Romania's being in the Warsaw Treaty, the strengthening of collaboration with the armies of the countries in the membership of this treaty, we shall further act for the improvement and expansion of this collaboration, working, at the same time, for the concomitant dismantlement of both the Warsaw Treaty and NATO. But in any condition collaboration with the armies of socialist countries, with other friendly armies will be an important factor in the policy of safeguarding national independence.

It is also necessary to improve the activity of militia and security bodies, for safeguarding the revolutionary gains, the public property and private property, the quiet and the work of the entire people. In accordance with the country's laws, the cooperation between these bodies and the masses, the entire people should be strengthened even more, and a firm attitude should be adopted against any violation, of the laws and the general order. The judiciary, the prosecuting bodies should firmly see to the application of the laws, of socialist legality so that under no circumstance should someone be unjustly punished, or that should someone who violates the country's laws remain unpunished. In this sense, we should therefore expand still more the role of the hearing commissions of the general meetings of the working people so that these bodies of democratic justice have a decisive role in judging the infringements on order and discipline, on the norms of social life. Only when these bodies consider that the acts perpetrated are serious and should be sent to the judiciary, only then should the courts try the cases. Also in particularly serious instances, when from the very beginning the case should be tried by the court. Even the grave problems of counter-revolutionary activities, of siding with the enemies of socialism and of the country, of treason, which are the direct competence of the prosecuting bodies and the judiciary, should be made known to and debated by the general meetings. I refer to all these problems because life, reality proves that there always existed and unfortunately, there still are people—

it is true, not many—who betray socialism, the people in exchange for personal profits, for a few gold or silver coins, as our people says. We must adopt a firm stand of exposing and punishing such people and treason acts in conformity with the country's laws.

The people themselves should inflict punishment on all who jeopardize socialism, the independence and sovereignty of the country, the very future of our nation.

We must strive to make the defence of revolutionary achievements, of property, of the laws and norms of socialist ethics an equity the concern of all working persons, of the entire people.

Next, Nicolae Ceausescu showed: The great achievements of our people in socialist construction strongly show the correctness of the general line of our party that of applying objective laws, the socialist principles to realities in Romania. It is with good reason that we can say that our party creditably fulfilled and fulfills its historic mission as a revolutionary detachment, and the vital centre of the entire nation, and that it led and leads our people on the path of socialism and communism. The leading political role of the party is the result of the revolutionary activity of our party that took a revolutionary high-principled position of defending the interests of the masses, the independence and sovereignty of the country since its foundation and at various hard times in the history of our people. Ever since the foundation of the first worker party in Romania, in 1893, and of the Romanian Communist Party in 1921 to this day there was not one important moment internally or internationally when the party did not take a clear, firm position, in agreement with the aspirations of the people, with the cause of socialism of Romania's independence and sovereignty.

That is why the party is recognised by the people as the leading political force. We have a strong party with a membership of over 3,800,000, of whom more than 55 per cent are from the ranks of the working class. In all fields of activity the party takes action continually to strengthen its links with the working masses, to make sure that the party decisions are best fulfilled, and the laws of the country are observed. As far as party work is concerned, after the ninth congress we took measures to improve the activity of the party, of its organizations and organs, to develop inner party democracy as part of the revolutionary worker democracy, to let the critical and self-critical spirit strongly assert itself as a vital requirement for the fulfillment of the leading role of the party in all areas in good conditions. Starting from this fact, we are puzzled and even concerned by the tendencies to weaken the party's leading role in some countries, and by certain conceptions of reverting to the so-called multiparty system. It is well known that the parties developed in the class conditions when society was divided into antagonistic classes, into oppressors and oppressed. Therefore it is only logical that once the exploiters' class was abolished, the political organizational unity of the working class should be achieved into a single revolutionary party to lead the vast and complex work of building the new social system. As I have said, this calls for a broad, democratic framework, for the organized participation of the people, of all social segments in the management of all spheres of activity.

The idea of returning to the period when several parties existed is very dangerous and it can entail serious prejudices for the cause of socialism, of the general development of the respective peoples. As for ourselves, we think it is necessary to firmly advocate the existence in the socialist countries, in the countries that turn to independent socioeconomic development, of single, powerful parties with a progressive revolutionary outlook, that should ensure every people's concerted action in the accomplishment of the targets of socialist construction, of independent socioeconomic development. We must permanently keep the party's worker nature both as regards the workers' weight in the party and as regards the promotion of activists from among workers to the leadership of the party bodies and organizations. I can most forcefully assert that if we do not ensure the worker character of the party, the consistent promotion of party cadres from among workers, up to the Central Committee and the Executive Political Committee, we will not ensure or maintain the party's revolutionary character. The presence of the majority of workers in the party, in the leading bodies is the guarantee of the revolutionary spirit, the guarantee of the firm march toward socialism, toward communism. It is no accident that precisely in these circumstances some reactionary circles in capitalist countries have intensified their attack first of all against Communist Parties. As a matter of act it is not for the first time now that it happens. Under the slogan of creating several parties, they work to lessen the force and liquidate the Communist Parties. As a matter of fact they do not even conceal it. But it has resulted most clearly from the anti-communist, anti-socialist, anti-Soviet manifestations in some countries. I think we should remember the slogan of the time of the Great October Socialist Revolution "Soviets without Bolsheviks" which is resumed today in a different form against Communist Parties, against the party's leading role. There is not and cannot be an improvement or development of socialism without a united part of the working class, with a revolutionary outlook on the world and life that should primarily operate for the rallying of the whole people in defence of the gains of socialism, for the development of socialism, for raising the peoples' welfare, for the strengthening of the country's independence and sovereignty, for peace and collaboration among all the nations of the world.

Considering the grand targets of socialist and communist development of our homeland, we should permanently improve the party's activity, consolidate its leading role in all domains, most firmly work for raising the political and ideological level, combativity, the revolutionary spirit, for the improvement of party democracy and the continuous strengthening of the links of the party with the working class, with the broad masses, with the whole people. We must see to it that all party and state

decisions, everything regarding the homeland's development be widely debated and endorsed by the whole party, by all our people. While acting as a leading political force, as the vital centre of the whole nation, our party must permanently remain a revolutionary party.

It is not possible, there can be no other force to fulfil the vital role of the Communist Party. The party cannot give up its role as the leading political force, nor can it share this role with anyone. It must play its role of leading the people toward the high summits of the communist society together with the people and doing everything for the people. If one may say so, it ought to share its role only with one force, namely the people and only the people, which means to raise the general level of consciousness and combativity, rally the whole people around it, in the socialist and communist construction. As a matter of fact, this must be the dialectical understanding of the fact that the party will disappear in communism, when the whole people develops lofty revolutionary consciousness and revolutionary combativity, when the people itself is a revolutionary people, builder of communism, of freedom, of its future free for ever. The RCP general secretary also spoke about the growing role and tasks of trade unions, youth, women, student and young pioneers' organizations, as well as of cooperative organizations and creative unions, of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front and other mass and public organizations.

A lengthy chapter of the speech deals with the ideological and political-educative activity for the moulding of the new man, with an advanced socialist conscience.

Nicolae Ceausescu underscored that we must firmly fight the theses of deideologizing international relations, of slackening the class struggle, and other antiscientific and antirevolutionary theses that bring confusion and lack of confidence in the forces of the working class, of the people's struggle for progress, for international peace and cooperation, in the inevitable victory of socialism.

Ideological, political-educational activity should give a clear idea of the changes and the development prospects of human society, the development prospects of socialism and communism.

More than at any other time we must strongly emphasize that the victory of socialism is objective necessity, that sooner or later—as was the case of all systems until now—the place of the capitalist, imperialist system must be taken by another, better and more just system—socialism and communism.

We must strongly underscore the lessons of history which say that the passage from one system to another was always by the revolutionary way, that the masses, the people—the true makers of history and civilization—always played a decisive role—and we must stress in context the role of the working class, of the advanced forces in the struggle for socialism and for peace and cooperation around the world.

The ideological, political-educative activity must vigorously underscore the role of the revolutionary worker parties, of the communist parties in organizing and leading the working class, the broad masses to achieve the new, socialist social system.

Under the present circumstances when we witness another offensive of the most reactionary imperialist circles, the communist parties, the progressive movements should take vigorous and firm action against anticommunism, against all the attempts to divide and weaken the working-class unity, the people's fight for socialism, for economic and social progress, for peace.

All the mass media and factors of education should work resolutely with a revolutionary spirit of combativity and intransigence against retrograde conceptions against mysticism, chauvinism, antisemitism, of all kinds of ways of dividing peoples and of hatemongering.

The speaker insisted that the educational activity—in the spirit of patriotic and revolutionary traditions, of international solidarity and of the struggle for progress, peace and cooperation—should develop the sense of friendship and brotherhood, of unity, and reject the acceptance of everything that debases man.

In reference to aspects of the present international situation, President Nicolae Ceausescu said among other things:

Far-reaching political, social, economic and military changes have occurred in international life, which continually after the world balance of power. Life, reality, prove that a relative balance of power has been achieved and maintained which has made it possible to outgrow a number of difficult moments and to ensure peace in the world for nearly 45 years.

It must be stressed that the socialist countries' policy has played an important part throughout this period in ensuring peace and solving certain serious issues through negotiations.

As you know, important steps have been made in the last few years through the accord reached by the Soviet Union and the United States of America on the elimination of medium-range nuclear missiles, through the beginning of disarmament negotiations in Vienna and the passage to a negotiated settlement of conflicts in various regions of the world.

However, we must openly declare before our people, before all the world's peoples that the international situation continues to be particularly complex and serious.

The existence of nuclear weapons, of other mass destruction and conventional weapons, is a serious threat to the peace of mankind and, in the case of the recourse to nuclear weapons a threat to life itself on our planet.

NATO countries have not yet risen to the necessary understanding in order to renounce the old policy of force, of nuclear deterrence. They declare that they will embark on the modernization of short-range and tactical nuclear weapons, which would considerably increase the destructive power of these weapons and the danger they pose to the very life of the peoples in Europe and worldwide.

Under these circumstances the fundamental question of international life is primarily the renunciation of nuclear weapons, of their modernization programme, the signing of new agreements between the Soviet Union and the United States of America on the 50 per cent reduction of strategic nuclear missiles, and of a general accord on the full elimination of any nuclear weapons.

All states should immediately renounce nuclear tests, the militarization of outer space should be given up, and an adequate agreement should be reached on the elimination of chemical weapons, in close connection with the elimination of all nuclear weapons.

Alongside the other states of the Warsaw Treaty, NATO and Europe Romania participates in the Vienna negotiations on the radical curtailment of conventional weaponry under a stict international control, resolved to make its own contribution to reaching an agreement as soon as possible.

We firmly pronounce for a cutback of at least 50 per cent in these weapons, an appropriate balance being thus struck between the two military blocks, excluding the possibility of a military aggression.

We firmly pronounce for the reduction of military spending—by at least 50 per cent in the first stage, the financial means thus reduced being used or the settlement of serious social and economic questions of every country, as well as for the assistance of developing countries.

We wish most firmly to reassert the resolve of Socialist Romania, of the Romanian people to play full part in the implementation of disarmament, in the ensurance of new international relationships, eliminating force and the threat of force.

At the same time, we cannot overlook the fact that many European countries and the United States of America are witnessing a growth in the activity of neofascist and rightist organizations an intensification of antisemite, nationalist-chauvinist and revisionist manifestations and propaganda.

The returns of the elections for the West-European Parliament in which the neofascist rightist parties scored important results rightfully cause great concern among all the European peoples. That is why a resolute riposte should be given to neofascism and to all to all reactionary, neofascist and rightist manifestations.

In this field, too, let us not forget the historic teachings before World War II, when the toleration and even encouragement of the activity of fascist organizations led to the enthronement of fascism in Hitler's Germany and in other countries of the world to the outbreak of World War II, inflicting great human and material losses on all the European nations and many of the world's peoples. The rejection of fascism means the defence of democracy, of freedom, of the people's right to a dignified life, to peace.

At the same time, our country will work most resolutely for the achievement of cooperation and disarmament in Europe, for the realisation of new relations of full equality, ensuring the economic and social progress of every people, strengthening the collaboration, unity and security of all nations in Europe.

It is necessary that we should do our utmost to surmount various obstacles and achieve a united Europe, a free and independent Europe. Only on this basis will Europe be able to secure its social and economic progress and play a more important role in settling the complex issues of the contemporary life.

At the same time, Romania will continue to carry out an intensive activity for the development of a broad collaboration among the Balkan countries, for the realization of a nuclear and chemical free zone in this region, without foreign military bases, as part and parcel of the collaboration and security in Europe and worldwide.

The same as before, Romania firmly pronounces for the cessation of conflicts existing in various parts of the world and the settlement of interstate litigious issues solely by negotiations. In this framework, we deem it necessary that a passage should be made to convening the international conference on the Middle East and the settlement of the issues on the basis of the Palestinian people's right to self-determination, to the existence of an independent Palestinian state and the acknowledgement of the independence, sovereignty and integrity of all states in that area, Israel included.

We consider it necessary that all states, regardless of size and social system, should be ensured full participation in the settlement of the world issues. In this framework, I should like to stress the important role incumbent on of the small and medium-sized states, of the developing countries, of the nonaligned states.

We also pronounce for the growth of the role of the United Nations, of other international bodies in democratically addressing the complex questions of world life, in the interest of all peoples of peace and collaboration.

One must not forget the lessons taught by history on World War II since whose outburst 50 years have gone.

The fact is well known that the policy of concession and capitulation in front of Nazi Germany, the Munich accord, inclusive of the Molotov-Ribentrop Pact failed to prevent aggression while encouraging it.

These lessons compel us to intensify the peoples' struggle against war, for general disarmament and first of all for the eradication of the nuclear arms. Let us permanently bear in mind that way can only be prevented through the united struggle of the advanced forces, of peoples everywhere, that the problems of disarmament cannot be solved by a handful of countries, that they have to be solved with the participation of all the peoples, of all the states, of the wide masses of people. That is the only way for us to prevent a new war, to ensure the peace of the planet.

The socialist republic of Romania is resolved to work in future, too, for the ample development of relations with all the states, irrespective of social system.

We shall firmly promote in international relations the principles of fully equal rights, observance of national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in internal affairs, mutual advantage the strict observance of each nation's right to choose its socioeconomic development path freely, without any outside interference.

It is high time the need were understood for renouncing the old policy of interfering in various ways in other countries' affairs, the policy of subversion and diversion. The quarters and politicians in the West that assume the right to establish what is good and what is not good for one country or another ought to see that right in their countries, in the capitalist countries, there are many, a great many problems to settled, that in the last ten years unemployment has become chronical, that 20-30 per cent of the youth do not have any job secured, that the discrimination, through differentiation of remuneration, is maintained, of up to 20-30 per cent—or women, for youth, for working people of another colour, especially nor the black.

The number of the poor as well as the number of the people who do not have a house has grown.

All this has led to an increase in the number of drug adicts—youth in particular—to mounting criminality, acts of terrorism and other grave social phenomena.

Therefore, the respective quarters and politicians should better focus their forces on settling those very serious issues, that brutally violate the people's right to work, to life and that are contrary to the principles of real humanism, of the real human rights.

We consider it would be very useful and important that an active and wide collaboration be achieved in the settlement of these grave issues, starting from the fact that the state' prime duty must be to ensure jobs for all citizens and first of all for the youth, homes, learning and all the other fundamental rights, for the peoples' dignified, free life.

On working for the development of the relations with all countries, irrespective of social system, we shall further pay special attention to the relations with the socialist countries and first of all with our neighbours.

We have always considered and consider that the settlement of the domestic issues and the way of socialist development are the supreme duty of the communist parties, of the peoples in every country.

But, no doubt, we are worried about some issues in various countries, since we wish all socialist countries, all our neighbours to ensure a firm development on the path of socialism.

We therefore consider that it would be very important that the socialist countries in the membership of the Warsaw Treaty and generally all socialist countries analyze together the current issues of socialist construction, establish together how to better collaborate in order to overcome some difficulties and ensure the socioeconomic development on the road of socialism of every people.

At the same time we wish to develop amply our relations with the other socialist countries and we believe we have to expand amply this collaboration in a spirit of solidarity and collaboration and of the socialist development of our countries.

Evoking the leading moments in the workers' revolutionary activity in Romania, of the solidarity proved by the RCP throughout its existence, the RCP general secretary said:

It is in the spirit of these wonderful traditions of international solidarity that we have developed amply our relations with the communist and workers' parties, with the socialist and social-democratic parties, with progressive parties and movements in the developing countries as well as with other democratic parties in various countries.

We believe that the grave and complex world situation, the changes manifest in the world balance of forces asks objectively for further strengthening the international collaboration and solidarity. No communist party, no revolutionary or progressive party stand apart. It is more necessary than ever to strengthen the collaboration and solidarity of the communist parties upon the principles of scientific socialism, of the revolutionary outlook on the world and life, of dialectical and historic materialism.

The problems in various countries, inclusive of the socialist countries we consider to be internal affairs of each party and we oppose any interference in the domestic affairs. Likewise we are also for a broad collaboration and joint discussions of current issues, to establish how each party should better work to contribute to the achievement of disarmament, to the settlement of the complex problems—political, social, economic—to the building of a world of social and national justice, to the victory of the new social system—of socialism.

In the spirit of responsibility for our own people, for the cause of socialism, of mankind's development prospects, we consider that the communist and worker parties should strengthen their solidarity, organize meetings, regional or international conferences to consolidate collaboration and solidarity. The working class, future generations will not forgive those who do not understand that it is precisely in the current circumstances that we must do everything possible to strengthen the new unity, on the basis of equality and independence, to broadly develop international solidarity and collaboration. This will be a new-type unity—of independent parties with equal rights—and all the more so it will be a more powerful unity, which will lead to the union of the working class, of advanced forces, in the struggle for economic and social progress,for disarmament, for peace, for saving mankind from destruction.

In the same spirit, we state for the broad development of the collaboration with socialist, social-democratic parties, with anti imperialist progressive movements, with democratic forces everywhere, for their joint action in the basic problems concerning each people, peace, each nation's independence, the whole world's future.

We do believe firmly that, although current problems are rather grave and complex, the progressive forces, peoples everywhere, realistic circles, taking concerted action, can find the path to an active collaboration, can change the course of events, can impose a new political thinking, a new way of action—in the interests of progress, of each peoples welfare and independence, of peace and collaboration among all nations of the world.

As far as Socialist Romania is concerned, by steadily implementing the policy of the Romanian Communist Party in the international life, it will participate just like so far, with all its forces, in the settlement of all issues, in ensuring new relations, based on the principles of equality among all nations, for the building of a better and more just world, free of weapons, free of wars, a world in which every people, every nation may lead a dignified, free, independent life.

In the final part of his speech Nicolae Ceausescu stressed the outstanding importance of the document endorsed by the plenary meeting for Romania' present and future. The speaker pointed out that is why it can be said already now that the 14th Congress of the Party can be considered as the congress of the great socialist victories, of the dedicated work of the whole people, of the real and full sovereignty and independence, the congress that opens up wonderful prospects to the high peaks of the classless society, to the summit of communism; in concluding, Nicolae Ceausescu said: Let me once more thank the Party Central Committee for nominating me party general secretary, which is then to be discussed by the whole party, by the whole people and then submitted to the 14th Party Congress.

I take this confidence to express the fact that throughout my activity I have always materialized our peoples aspiration after independence, I have served the party, the cause of socialism and peace in the world.

Dear comrades, let once more assure you, the whole party and the whole people that also in future I shall hold no loftier goal than contributing with all my might, together with the other comrades, with the Central Committee, with the whole party, with the whole people to the materialization of the future programmes of development regarding our homeland's advancement towards communism, in order to ensure a dignified place for the Romanian people among the free nations of the world, to ensure Romania's wonderful, communist future.

Ceausescu Message to Pioneers on Anniversary

AU2806122189 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 24 Jun 89 pp 1, 2

["Message Sent by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, Secretary General of the Romanian Communist Party and President of the Socialist Republic of Romania, to the Pioneers and the Falcons of the Homeland, to All Children in Our Country, and to All Young People on the Occasion of the 40th Anniversary of the Creation of the Pioneers Organization in the Socialist Republic of Romania, the 'Pioneers Day' and the Conclusion of the School Year"]

[Text] Dear Pioneers, dear children and young people of Socialist Romania: On the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the creation of the Pioneers Organization, of the "Pioneers' Day," and the conclusion of the 1988-1989 school year, I would like to convey warm revolutionary greetings and best wishes to the Pioneers, to the Falcons of the Homeland, and to all children and all young people in our country.

The anniversary of the Pioneers Organization is celebrated in a year which is full of very important events in the life of the Romanian people—the 45th anniversary of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for social and national liberation of 23 August 1944 and the 14th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP]. For our whole nation these events are a wonderful opportunity to recall the long-standing struggle of the Romanian people for a free, independent, and dignified life, and to emphasize the brilliant successes registered on the path of implementing the great ideals of socialism on the soil of our homeland, under the leadership of our glorious Communist Party.

During the years of socialist construction, particularly after the Ninth RCP Congress—which inaugurated a period of profound revolutionary changes in all areas—our people have obtained important results in the construction of socialist society, in developing industry and agriculture, in increasing national wealth, and in developing all towns and communes of our homeland. Science, education, culture, and the whole sociocultural life of the country have markedly developed. The 10-year education has been generally

applied and the high school, that is 12-year education, will be generally applied by 1990. The sociocultural expenditures have increased year by year, the remuneration, pensions, and child allocation have also increased, and in general the material and cultural standard of the whole nation has improved.

Our party and state takes particular care of the young generation, the future of our socialist nation, in accordance with its deeply humane policy, which starts from the principle of building socialism with the people and for the people, giving pride of place to the individual and ensuring his fundamental rights—the right to work, to enjoy health-care and dwellings, to study, to receive education and culture, and to lead a dignified and happy life. It is primarily you, the children and the young people in our country, that benefit from the bright prospects that open up before our whole nation, and it is for you that our party and state ensure every condition to study and shape you into dignified and devoted citizens of Socialist Romania and into trustworthy builders of socialism and communism on the soil of our homeland.

Dear Pioneers and Falcons of the Homeland, today you have conditions that the children of our country have never had and could never have in the past, in the old system which was based on oppression and exploitation! Make complete use of the wonderful conditions that you are granted to study, study, and again study! Learn about the latest discoveries in the field of science and human knowledge and in all fields of activity, and train yourselves in order to become most useful in our society, constantly following the example of the workers class, peasantry, and intelligentsia which, in close unity under the leadership of our Communist Party, unflinchingly fulfill the programs to raise our homeland to new levels of progress and civilization!

Through its entire activity, the Pioneers Organization, working within the framework of the workers' revolutionary democracy in our homeland as a member of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front—under the leadership and the guidance of our party—makes a significant contribution to instructing, educating, and mobilizing the young generation to implement the party program of building a comprehensively developed socialist society and ensuring the necessary conditions for the country's passage to building communism.

For the positive results you have obtained, on this jubilee anniversary I convey to the Pioneers Organization, to all the children, and to all the young people in our country warmest congratulations and wishes for increasingly greater successes in fulfilling the new objectives devolving on you from the general policy of our party and state to ensure Romania's socioeconomic development and our country's firm advance on the road of socialism and communism.

You have wonderful prospects, dear children and young people! The party programs for the next 1991-1995 5-year plan period, as well as for the entire period up to the year 2000 and the first decade of the third millenium envisage a continuous strong and harmonious development of production forces and of the entire socioeconomic activity and the achievement of a considerable qualitative development in all areas. In the year 2000—when you will reach the age of your full creative capacity—Romania will become a strong force of science, education, and culture and a country with a high level of culture and civilization for the whole nation.

Starting from the tasks incumbent on all the mass and civic organizations in fulfilling the party program of socialist construction, the Pioneers Organization—together with the school, the family, and the other youth organization—is called upon to instill in the awareness of our children the most noble patriotic and revolutionary ideals, love and respect for our socialist homeland, for our people, and for the Romanian Communist Party, the experienced leader of our whole nation, and to cultivate among Pioneers and Falcons of the Homeland, and all the other children the spirit of self-denial and of determination to commendably fulfill the programs for our country's development and to assert themselves in all circumstances as true patriots and revolutionaries, and as trustworthy sons of Socialist Romania.

Let us strongly develop among the young generation the respect for the wealth of our whole nation and for the socialist, state, and cooperative property—the sure basis for improving the material and cultural well-being of all citizens!

Let us place the principles of socialist ethics and equity and a new attitude toward work, society and everyday behavior at the basis of the general education of our children and young people!

Living in the era of the new scientific-technical revolution, children and young people in our country should be shaped, should work and think in the light of the most advanced concepts of the world and life, that is, in the light of dialectical and historical materialism, should establish thorough scientifically materialist concepts and should firmly fight chauvinism, nationalism, mysticism, obscurantism, and all other negative manifestations that humiliate people and hamper the complete assertion of the human personality.

The Pioneers Organization and the Falcons of the Homeland, the school, and all those who are in charge of educating children and young people are called upon to cultivate among pioneers, all pupils, and young people the capability of appreciating the great achievements registered in our homeland during the years of socialism and they should shape and educate a new type of youth, that is thoroughly trained and possesses a high social awareness and respect for the laws of the country, order, and discipline, that is, young people who are completely devoted to the cause of socialism and communism, who are honestly carrying forward the torch of the revolutionary struggle and the wonderful current achievements of the Romanian people.

Dear Pioneers, dear children and young people of Socialist Romania, our party and state actively promotes an international policy of peace, cooperation, and understanding among all the nations of the world, so that you young people and children of our homeland can achieve your daring aspirations to fulfillment and progress, so that our whole nation can completely devote its forces to the implementation of the programs for the homeland's prosperity. Romania works with utmost determination to bring about the elimination of the danger of war, the halting of the arms race—primarily the elimination of nuclear and chemical weapons—and to ensure that all peoples and children live in peace without the fear that they will be the victims of a destructive war. Our country works with determination to eliminate force and the threat of force in international life and to find peaceful and negotiated solutions to all interstate conflicts. During this period, when mankind faces many political, economic, and social problems that have a serious effect on the present and the future of peoples—particularly of the young generations—and when in many countries millions of children and young people have no shelter, look for a job in vain, suffer from hunger, starve, and are crushed by poverty, disease, and misery, Romania works firmly and consistently to bring about the elimination of underdevelopment and social inequalities and the establishment of a better and more just world on our planet.

Today, more than ever, childrens' and youth organizations, the children of the world, and their parents should most resolutely join the struggle to defend the peace and security of all peoples, should call on heads of state and government to give up the plans to modernize nuclear weapons and start to eliminate them, and should firmly work toward establishing a world without weapons and wars, a world of peace, independence, and the free assertion of every nation. There is no more noble duty for all those who love life and love children—the future of mankind—than to firmly commit themselves to do all they can to ensure peace, disarmament, and a free and dignified life of progress and well-being that marks a happy future for all nations!

Working in the spirit of the policy promoted by our party and state, the Pioneers Organization is called upon to actively militate for the development of relations of friendship and cooperation with similar childrens' and youth organization in all countries in the world, regardless of social system, and with international childrens' organizations, in order to ensure a lasting climate of peace and cooperation, in which all nations—particularly youth—should be able to build their destinies freely, in accordance with their wishes, without any outside interference.

Dear Pioneers and Falcons of the Homeland, bearing these thoughts in mind, on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the creation of the Pioneers Organization, the celebration of Pioneers' Day, the conclusion of the school year, I wish you and all young people many significant successes in your work and studies, and I wish you to enjoy a happy childhood!

To the Pioneers Organization I extend wishes for new and important successes in honor of the 45th anniversary of the victory of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for social and national liberation and the 14th RCP Congress! Likewise, I convey to your parents, teachers, and instructors wishes for new achievements in their activity devoted to bringing up the new generation and ensuring progress and prosperity in our homeland!

Much health and happiness to all of you!

Ceausescu Message to Mozambican President

AU2806160389 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 25 Jun 89 p 5

[Message from Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu to Mozambican President Joaquim Alberto Chissano on "The National Day of the People's Republic of Mozambique"]

[Text] To Comrade Joaquim Alberto Chissano, chairman of the Mozambique Liberation Front (Frelimo) and president of the People's Republic of Mozambique, Maputo

On the occasion of the 14th anniversary of the proclamation of the state independence of the People's Republic of Mozambique, I convey warm greetings and best wishes to the Mozambique Liberation Front (Frelimo), the government, the Mozambican people, and to you personally.

I express my belief that, in the spirit of our recent talks and understandings, the traditional relations of friendship, solidarity, and cooperation between our parties and countries will continue to develop for the benefit of the Romanian and the Mozambican peoples and in the interest of the cause of peace, understanding, and cooperation throughout the world.

I take this opportunity to convey to you personally, esteemed Comrade Joaquim Alberto Chissano, best wishes for good health and happiness and wishes for peace, progress, and prosperity to the friendly Mozambican people.

Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Hungarian Industry Exhibition Opens at Fair

AU2806145689 Budapest MTI in English 2124 GMT 26 Jun 89

[Text] Budapest, June 26 (MTI)—A Hungarian exhibition of machine tools opened in Bucharest on Monday in the area of the international fair. The participants, including Pal Szuts, the Hungarian ambassador to Romania, were welcomed by Perju Mircea, director of the Romanian Publicom Foreign Trade Company also charged with the preparation of the exhibition.

'The show will be an important stage in a long-term cooperation,' Imre Bodogh, deputy director general of Technoimpex Trade Joint Stock Company, said in his opening address.

Romanians show great interest in the exhibition, with representatives of ministries, industrial centres and companies coming to see the automatic equipment and microprocessor machines in operation.

Milosevic Speech on Kosovo Battle Anniversary
LD2806144289 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1318 GMT 28 Jun 89

[Text] Kosovo Polje, June 28 (TANJUG)—Equal and harmonious relations among the Yugoslav peoples are an essential condition for a settlement of the crisis in Yugoslav society and for Yugoslavia's survival, President of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia Slobodan Milosevic said here on Wednesday.

Addressing over one million people at a central celebration commemorating the 600th anniversary of the battle of Kosovo, Milosevic said that the anniversary comes at the time when Serbia after many decades regained its state, national and spiritual integrity. This was a reference to the adoption of amendments to the Constitution of Serbia by which the republic at last legally constituted itself as a state on its entire territory, including the Provinces of Vojvodina and Kosovo.

In an attempt to come to the core of the Kosovo tragedy, whose spirit has permeated the entire Serbian culture since the fall of the Serbian state in the war against the Ottoman Empire, Milosevic said that it is difficult to distinguish between historical truth and legend in the Kosovo battle, and to say whether it was a defeat or a victory of the Serbian people, and whether the Serbs became slaves or survived the slavery because of it.

If we lost the battle, it was due not only to the Turkish military supremacy, but also to the tragic discord at the top of the Serbian state. The discord, the evil fate, followed the Serbian people throughout its history—including World War Two and later, in socialist Yugoslavia, when the Serbian leaders remained divided, prone to compromises at the expense of their people, siad Milosevic.

On the current developments in Serbia and Yugoslavia, he said that Serbia is prepared to invest maximum efforts to improve the economic and social life of its citizens.

Socialism, as a progressive and just democratic society, should not permit national and religious divisions, stressed Milosevic, pointing to the situation in the modern world, especially among the developed, where national tolerance, cooperation and equality prevail. Only equal and united people will be able to become part of the civilization that mankind is approaching. If we cannot be at the head of the march to such a civilization, we should certainly not be at the rear, concluded Milosevic.

Kosovo Reported 'Peaceful' Despite Crowds
LD2806140889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1305 GMT 28 Jun 89

[Text] Pristina, 28 Jun (TANJUG)—Although there are many people in Kosovo today and especially in Gazimestan, Gracanica, and the areas surrounding Pristina, it was peaceful in Kosovo this morning and early afternoon without any major problems. The greatest problem was posed by indescribable traffic jams on roads leading to Gazimestan and Gracanica, the venues of the ceremonies marking the Battle of Kosovo anniversary. Hundreds of thousands of guests had to abandon their cars and buses and proceed on foot.

There was only one instance of coaches carrying people to the ceremony being stoned. This happened at approximtely 0200 GMT this morning outside Gnjilane when as yet unidentified people threw stones at a coach from Vranje. No one, however, was injured.

There were unsually few people on the streets of Pristina today. A large number of citizens attended the ceremonies, first in Gracanica and then in Gazimestan. The situation is similar in other towns in Kosovo. Those who did not attend the ceremonies stayed at home to watch it on television. Only stores selling food and similar goods were open as were those firms and factories where the production process could not be interrupted.

Ljubljana Radio Comments on Kosovo Festivities
AU2806201889 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 1700 GMT 28 Jun 89

[Special correspondent Marjan Rogelj report from Kosovo]

[Text] The plain near Pristina is again sinking into silence and solitude this evening, as it did 600 years ago after the celebrated Battle of Kosovo. There are no unanimous historical explanations of the battle, whether the Serbs lost it or won it, just as at this moment it is not possible to reliably predict the consequences of the gathering at Gazi Mestan today.

The facts indisputably indicate an obvious national rallying of the Serbs and an emergence of their leader whom they celebrate like the legendary Prince Lazar. It is difficult to believe any event connected with the situation in Serbia to be accidental, and one begins to understand that what we have is an excellent program worked out in detail, with all the political and other consequences.

If the Serbs lost their identity at Gazi Mestan here 600 years ago, they restored it most certainly to their own satisfaction with all the glitter again today, numerous actions of course preceding. We cannot remember any moment in the recent history of this republic when the Orthodox Church was as active and as close to the official policy as it happened at the Kosovo Battle festivities.

Why did I say, to their own satisfaction? They have a united leadership enjoying blind support of the entire Serbian people. This year, they amended the Constitution and, as they say, achieved statehood. With their

loan, they opened numerous hopes for a better tomorrow. And all in all, they revived the feelings of power, of greatness, and of historic messages that push them into a euphoric and even harsh treatment of others.

Nobody would dare to utter any reproaches had the increase of the internal power and unity of our largest republic not begun to trouble the relations in the federation, and had its politics not splashed so obviously and ruthlessly over the brink of its own borders, say, to Montenegro, and had it not, within its borders, inundated Kosovo with a single wave, and Vojvodina with another, more considerate wave.

Is it, therefore, a coincidence that Slobodan Milosevic spoke today in a tolerant way—many expected fresh attacks—but nevertheless as a state leader, and not just president of the Presidency of Serbia? Is it perhaps the result of an error of the reporter, or of his inattention, that he did not see a single picture of Tito in the entire field, but thousands of Milosevic's pictures? Is it right that this celebrated leader did not mention the Albanians with a single word in Kosovo today? And how is one to understand his words toward the end of his speech, I quote: Six centuries later, we are again engaged in battles and facing battles. They are not armed battles, although such things cannot be excluded yet.

And whatever significance the Kosovo Battle may have in the national and intimate consciousness of the Serbs, the festivities at Gazi Mestan again confirmed that it will be more and more difficult to face Serbian conduct and wishes, for it seems that the Serbs won a significant victory in Kosovo today and they made it known that it was not the last one. The feeling of belonging, of unity, power, and almost blind obedience of the million-fold crowd and all the others from this republic of Serbian or Montenegrin origin who may not have attended the gathering, are the elements in shaping a sharp and unyielding policy.

Committee Urges United Stand on New Alliances

AU2906072889 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 27 Jun 89 p 4

[M.T. report: "Europe Is Nearest Via the Federation"]

[Text] Belgrade, 26 Jun—Instead of giving the Split Initiative Committee the opinion it requested on the founding of an alliance of citizens for a united Europe, the Coordination Committee of the Republican Conference of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People [SAWP] of Serbia for the Activities of Social Organizations and Associations of Citizens has sent the demand onto the Federal Conference of the SAWP of Yugoslavia with the explanation that the initiative is directed at a world organization and therefore is in the powers of the federation.

In this respect the Committee has advocated a united Yugoslav stand on demands for the founding of similar alliances, particularly as great diversity exists in practice, which is shown by the experience of the Association for a Yugoslav Democratic Initiative which could not register itself in Croatia but received support in principle from the Belgrade Secretariat for Internal Affairs. (The aforementioned committee has already sent similar initiatives to the Federal Conference which have emerged from Serbia).

In any case, as it was explained today, the Split Initiative Committee—whose programmatic stand proceeds from the recognition of the meaning of the human reciprocity of all continents—did not receive the support of the corresponding organization in Croatia, and at least three republican SAWP organizations need to give a positive opinion for the Alliance to be founded, because it can be seen even from its title that it has a Yugoslav dimension. Besides that, this involves an initiative, as Miodrag Djordjevic said, which "has serious programmatic and even political ambitions which exceed the possibilities of citizens' associations."

However, the Republican Conference Committee does not reject similar initiatives in advance "if they are to the advantage of solving some Yugoslav problems." But in this respect, as it was said, "one should see to what extent their political initiatives are acceptable." One needs to be flexible, concluded Djordjevic, because there have been many initiatives for setting up new alliances. "We are not preventing this, as it can also stimulate activity in reforming the Socialist Alliance. All these initiatives need to be considered carefully and it is time to finally start talking specifically about them at the level of the SAWP Federal Conference, in order to finally acquire a united Yugoslav approach and prevent unnecessary deviations."

One of the questions which today attracted the attention of members of the aforementioned committee was related to the fate of the Alliance for the Socialist Education and Protection of Children of Serbia. While it is gradually disappearing because of a lack of money, the crisis, it was assessed, is increasingly affecting children. The alliance's representative, Dr Nikola Potkonjak pointed out the danger of the increasing manipulation of children in these political events. "The pluralism of interests will also impose the question of the fight for children—who will win the children over to their side," he said. Proceeding from the assessment that this involves an organization of particular social interest, members of the committee supported its further survival with material support from society. As concluded, these problems also deserve to be discussed at the Presidium of the Serbian SAWP.

Kucan Speaks on Serbian Loan, Reforms, Kosovo

AU2806175789 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 1330 GMT 28 Jun 89

[Text] Directors of the Mura region educational institutions met at Verzej this morning. Milan Kucan attended

the meeting, and he spoke on this occasion about the current events in Slovenia and Yugoslavia. Marjan Dore reports:

[Dore] Yugoslavia, and Slovenia with it, is burdened with the relations among the republics and interethnic disputes with separatist tendencies on the one side and unitarian tendencies on the other. Kucan explained in detail the economic achievements in Slovenia which are not good, but they are not as bad as in Serbia, not to mention the Yugoslav average.

[Begin Kucan recording] As you know, a loan has been launched in Serbia, which of course is a very important matter. Years ago, we talked in Slovenia about relying on our own forces. Of course, in connection with this loan, certain pressure is being exerted to the effect that enterprises that are not Serbian should subscribe to this loan because otherwise they are threatened with a break of business relations.

As long as political interventions are possible in the field that is called economic and business interests, it is necessary for our economy, even if we assume away other points, to be directed to those markets where political interventions are not so crucial. [end recording]

[Dore] Why has the League of Communists of Slovenia embarked on the thorny path of reforms?

[Begin Kucan recording] The Slovene League of Communists was deciding in favor of radical reforms last winter, when we noted that we had reached an impasse and that it was not possible to preserve the idea of socialism among the Slovenes without what we now call a renewed concept of socialism, to which the road of thorough economic and political reforms leads. The result of this realization was the April conference last year, at a time when there was no mass dissatisfaction and there were no meetings. Of course what happened in Slovenia and Yugoslavia after April is another matter.

Another reason is our domestic situation, Slovene, and internal. You could hear it if you followed the Saturday congress of the Slovene Democrats. They said that they were called upon to protect democracy and the reforms that they had extorted. I do not think that we are that, I would say, political force that may calmly claim all the credits for the so-called Slovene spring, although I find this expression somewhat offensive to use. However, I nevertheless think that to make it seem as if we had hindered social changes and that the others had forced them on us is to befog the true situation and it is of course used as a basis for the many manipulations that are occurring in the Slovene political arena. [end recording]

[Dore] Speaking about Kosovo, Milan Kucan said, among other things, that Slovenia cannot reconcile itself to the role of one bearing joint responsibility for that province while not being allowed to say or to do anything to contribute to solving the problem.

DELO Reviews Slovene Sociopolitical Groups

AU2706060189 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 17 Jun 89 p 21

[Jozica Grgic and Marko Pecauer article: "Who Will Fight for Power at Next Elections: Political Map of Slovenia"]

[Text] The characteristic of the political map is that the majority of the new alliances or movements have their eye on the spring elections and want to become conventional political parties. At this moment it is not yet clear to anybody what these elections should be like, for the new alliances are chiefly under the wings of the Socialist Alliance or the Socialist Youth Federation. Although none of the new alliances have yet polished their image, the question of the image of the sociopolitical organizations nevertheless appears in this connection. Some of them obviously do not want to lag behind in the race with the new alliances, and they began to search for their own identity. This applies above all to the League of Communists [LC] of Slovenia and the Socialist Youth Federation of Slovenia, while other sociopolitical organizations, if one judges by their work results, persist in the status quo. Thus the Socialist Alliance remains as it has been since its formation in 1953, with the exception of two recent innovations: It has deleted the leading role of the LC from its statute and, by force of circumstances, it has become the umbrella organization for the new alliances. It remains a moot question what its role will be under the conditions of possible, or rather probable, pluralism, but one may conclude that that it will not simply give up its voters, for it has set up a working group to prepare a program. This program, however, is not even conceived yet. Under possible pluralistic conditions, the Socialist Alliance will also have to find another method to earn its living, because it is financed exclusively from the budget at present.

Economy

The Program Statement of the Slovene Democratic Alliance pays relatively little attention to the economic sphere. With public criticism and with influence through legal institutions, the alliance intends to make sure that no political, economic, or any other machinations and speculations would remain hidden to the citizens of Slovenia. The alliance opposes wastefulness and the "transfer" of the accumulation of the Slovene economy.

In the economic sphere, the Slovene Peasant Alliance as a peasant trade union advocates, in the economic sphere, primarily the abolition of peasants' problems. It strives for different pricing of farm produce. In the long run, it

demands a shift in the farming policy, the development of cooperatives, the adjustment of agriculture to the market principle, and land reform.

The Slovene Christian Social Movement bases its views of the economy on the philosophical and ethical precepts on which the entire movement is based, which is to say individualistic philosophy and Christian ethics, and it fully recognizes the sovereignty of the working of economic laws. It puts respect and stimulation of personal work in the fore. It advocates the right and the opportunity of everybody to turn his income into capital, which remains his property. With this capital, he may create material conditions for personal work (set up his own enterprise) or pool it through the capital market for productive investment. The key question of economic policy is how much of the invested value belongs to the labor invested and how much to invested capital. The movement advocates a consistent implementation of market economy (markets of products, labor, and capital).

The Slovene Republican Alliance advocates a Slovene national currency, free enterprise, privatization, share holdings, promotion of tourism and so-called clean technologies, cuts in budget expenditure, changes in the taxation system to make the amassing of money and riches possible, and the abolition of the tax to pay for the underdeveloped regions, which is a pronouncedly ideologically colored legalized system of ordinary theft.

In the opinion of the Social Democrats, one should abandon the concept of integral self-management and replace it with codetermination. One should abolish social ownership and enable the workers to buy shares. The Social Democrats are advocates of a market economy with economic organizations that are independent of political organizations, and economically fully responsible for their actions.

The Greens will advocate an ecologically suitable transformation of the economy, which is able to replace the development model directed toward quantity and degradation with a high-quality model based on knowledge, recycling, soft technology, ecologically biased marketing, protection of soil and other natural resources, and a striving to preserve the natural cultural identity of Slovenia. The Greens oppose large monopolies and they have been fighting some of them for some time, and will continue to do so. Although they set themselves up only a week ago, they know how to be specific. As soon as they get into the assembly, and they are convinced they will do so, they will fight the Jesenice Steelmill and the Kidricevo Aluminum Plant because they do not pay the contribution for expanded reproduction, although they are large users of electrical energy. If a household does not pay this contribution, its electricity is cut off.

The Socialist Youth Federation of Slovenia has no program of its own. According to its statute, the Program of the LC of Yugoslavia is the Program of the Youth Federation! A special commission is drafting an individual program for the Youth Federation, and it should be adopted at its congress in November.

Political System

The Slovene Democratic Alliance strives for a parliamentary system, the competition of political ideas, and free elections. It insists on the sovereignty of the Slovene state. Its first task is to frame a new Slovene Constitution, which will be based on human rights and which will clearly redefine Slovene statehood, relations with other Yugoslav peoples, the Slovene defense policy, and the institutions of political and economic democracy in Slovenia. It advocates efficient control by the state and civilian society over the armed forces, the police, and the intelligence services.

The Slovene Peasant Alliance, which is primarily directed toward agricultural problems, believes that problems cannot be solved in any other way than through democracy. Our problem is not a lack of knowledge, and the greatest mistakes have been committed in politics. "Farmers' alliances in Western Europe have no need for political activities, because they live in a normal political system," Franc Zagozen told us. The alliance demands direct elections for all organs of authority, in which politically organized peasants will be able to run their candidates.

The Slovene Christian Social Movement has no revolutionary ideas concerning the political system, but is in favor of a constructive inclusion of its members in present politics, which means an acceptance of the existing political system and the socialist social vision. This nevertheless does not mean consenting to the status quo. The first condition for cooperation among the various political bodies is their actual equality, which in the opinion of the movement means that one should abolish the constitutionally guaranteed privileged position of the LC. In its opinion, to speak about a non-party political system can be taken as a serious proposal only if the LC were abolished as a party, which it is not realistic to expect. The movement sees a real shift to democracy as possible through a reform of the Socialist Alliance, if it actually becomes an alliance of equal subjects whose importance and strength is decided by the voters. For the movement, political actions within party frameworks and clashes are misspent efforts. To limit oneself to a kind of party organization would mean becoming stifled in the trenches of one's own rigid institution and its ideology. The movement will not build its political work on anticommunism, but it will insist that the party admits its mistakes. Its political action will strive for the framing of a convergent Slovene political program which will rally all the Slovene social forces that desire a positive development of the Slovene people.

The Slovene Republican Alliance advocates, in the political system sphere, direct elections at all levels, and the abolition of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of

Slovenia; only the president should remain. The representatives of the people in Parliament would be elected for 4 years without a limit on the number of times they may be elected. The executive power would be subjected to the congress. The government would be put together by the president of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia. Slovenia would be a sovereign state that may remain within the SFRY. It would have a national currency. When that currency is introduced, inflation would be, so to speak, abolished and that currency would become convertible.

The Social Democratic Alliance of Slovenia strives for a change in the political system. It advocates a parliamentary system, in which representatives of various political parties, organizations, and other alliances may run as candidates if they are supported by a certain number of signatures. The parliament should be sovereign and should control the executive organs, the police, and the judiciary.

The Greens intend to work within the existing political system constructively and legally, which means that they fully respect the existing laws. If they assess that any point of a law is not correct, they will strive to change it, working in the assembly, and they will support those elements of the political system that they consider in order. They will strive for a sovereign people in a sovereign Slovenia, for an inalienable right to self-determination, and for a broad use of the referendum on basic developmental and political decisions.

If we take as the program document of the Youth Federation the paper, For Democracy, discussed by the republican conference of the Socialist Youth Federation of Slovenia this February, then the federation has a very definite idea of the future political system. It demands a general and inalienable right to political organization and activities. The forms of organization are quite free: It is one's own affair if something is a party, an alliance, an association, or a movement. The elections are general, direct, secret, and periodic. The election results decide on delegate seats, but also on the allocation of funds which a political organization receives from the budget. All forms of political organization in the private life of society—the enterprises, the judiciary, the Army...—should be abolished. The federation also proposes a radical change in the assembly system.

Social and Demographic Policy

The Slovene Democratic Alliance in its program statement has not paid any special attention to social policy. It makes it conditional on economic success. As the statement says: "Without economic substance, there is no national substance, and without that, the threat exists of equality in poverty, of social disturbances, interethnic conflicts, and ultimately mass emigration and extinction of the Slovenes."

The Peasant Alliance demands a revision of the farming legislation and of other laws that affect the position of peasants, such as the inheritance law which causes extremely fragmented property structure.

Among all the political factors in Slovenia, the Slovene Christian Social Movement devotes most attention to social and demographic policy. In the social field, it sees the most important task as being in the work for the renewal of the Slovene family. It is concerned about the fatal threat to the Slovene people because of the appreciable fall in births. It sees this is a moral and social problem. The traditional family values are disintegrating, but the problem cannot be solved merely with upbringing and moral exhortations. In the opinion of the movement, legislation is needed to protect the family, and social policy is needed to ensure a normal material life for every family. With growing poverty, when young people find it more and more difficult to establish a family, it would in its opinion be necessary to set up a family solidarity fund and to organize various forms of assistance and self-aid. Such welfare assistance should also be organized for all the socially underprivileged, because the present official institutions, such as the Red Cross or the social care service, do not suffice.

The increase in the Slovene birthrate takes the pride of place in the social program of the Republicans. The people should develop and multiply. The conditions for this should be created: those marrying for the first time should get a gift of money from the republic; solidarity housing should be allocated to those who are at least secondary school graduates and have been citizens of Slovenia for at least 25 years; those marrying for the first time should have priority; the maternity leave should be extended to 3 years. Working hours for women should be reduced to one half of the present.

As regards social policy, the Social Democratic Alliance sees the labor of citizens as the foundation of social security. Solidarity assistance should go only to people who are physically or mentally handicapped, to children and to old people, to the unemployed, and to other underprivileged sections of the population. The alliance will also strive for the preparation of programs to employ young people and for social programs for the workers and their families who will be out of work during the transitional period of the economic renewal.

The Greens believe that social problems may be solved only by a successful economy and a political system that ensures the protection of human rights. Otherwise they have no special views on social policy, or on the protection of the family. In this connection they merely think that large families should enjoy comprehensive assistance. Regarding the demographic policy, they think that it should be a part of global economic policy. They are concerned about the fall in the birthrate, but they do not see a way out through banning abortion or other administrative measures, but through improving the quality of life.

The Peasant Youth Alliance demands a "state dowry" for young people who are starting a farm, an increase in the cultivable land holding limit, and both a legal regulation of this problem and financial assistance so that young families will be able to live off their land.

Present Work and Plans

In the 5 months of its existence, the Democratic Alliance of course has not had much to show. It worked on its own organization, setting up branches, winning members, and founding its newspaper, DEMOKRACIJA. The action connected with the May Declaration, signed along with other alternative alliances, caused attention. The alliance fulfilled its promise in the program declaration and set up, together with others, a council for the Constitution.

The alliance sees a proper opportunity for implementing its program premises in a parliamentary system, and therefore it expects much from the elections to be held next year. Its congress next Saturday will decide on the form of appearance in the elections. The Executive Committee has adopted the position that the alliance will appear in the elections together with other alternative organizations, especially the signatories of the May Declaration. As Dimitrij Rupel told us in an interview, negotiations are under way to form a joint democratic list to appear in the elections.

It all depends on the election law, of course. Dimitrij Rupel says that the primary question is whether the Party or the Socialist Alliance will allow equal conditions to apply to all. If the conditions are as unequal as they are at present—when the Party, the Socialist Alliance and the Youth Federation possess their apparatus financed by the state—the elections cannot be democratic. The Socialist Alliance should take care of an appropriate formal legal and financial structure for participating in the elections. If the election law is poor, the Democratic Alliance will boycott the elections and will call on others to do likewise.

The Peasant Alliance has comparatively-speaking gained an early voice, if not the power of decision in the bodies of the system. It has drawn attention to the irregularities in the farming policy, has announced a farming strike, and has gained rises in some purchasing prices. In the meantime, it has established a ramified network of branches in Slovenia. Some of these have actively taken part in events at a communal level. They cooperated in the discussions on constitutional changes and signed the May Declaration. The majority of the aims remains unfulfilled, of course. Franc Zagozen says: "To eliminate the consequences of the wrong farming policy in the past 45 years, we will need a further 45 years."

To implement its program, the Peasant Alliance intends to struggle in the highest organ of authority, the Slovene Assembly. Therefore it will run in the elections next year. The manner will depend on the election law, but it demands free elections. It will form a coalition with the opposition at least in communal elections.

Since its formation in March this year, the Slovene Christian Social Movement has been particularly active in journalism and publishing, in which respect it certainly is best developed among all new political bodies. Its core, Society 2000, has been publishing REVIJA 2000 for a number of years, and its views on various questions of society appear regularly in Ljubljana DNEVNIK.

It does not see its "great chance" in the coming elections, because, as it says, it is not storming to power. But the movement will cooperate with all political bodies, for in its opinion one political alliance alone cannot achieve a transformation of society, particularly because party politics seeks chiefly political advantages. The movement will make suggestions, cooperate in specific actions, and set moral criteria for political work. It will be indifferent as to who will present its suggestions in the Assembly; it could be a member of the movement or for instance of the party.

The Republican Alliance sees the first opportunity for the realization of its program at the elections next year. To implement their views, the republicans intend to run for seats in the parliament, and they also intend to nominate their candidate for the president of Slovenia.

The Social Democratic Alliance assesses that the chief obstacle to the implementation of its views is the haughty position of our politicians. It thinks that the process of democratization is more apparent than real, and in this connection it mentions the difficulties of the registration with the courts. It also faces a number of technical difficulties, such as the shortage of office premises and financing. Since its founding in February this year, the Social Democratic Alliance has dealt primarily with its own organizational problems, and in addition it has cooperated in the council for the new constitution, and it participated in drafting the May Declaration.

The alliance sees in the elections its first opportunity for its emergence in real political life. The alliance has no proper idea of how it may run in the elections, but it is thinking about a so-called democratic list which should be composed of all the new alliances. In its opinion, at the next elections after the first elections, each party should appear with its own program and coalitions should be formed afterwards.

The Greens have been established for only a week now, but they were active even before their foundation. They have just proposed to the Slovene Assembly to introduce a moratorium on water courses regulation and land drainage. They see their best opportunity for implementing their program in their participation in the spring elections and later on in the Assembly.

They intend to run their own candidates in the elections and present their own program, but they will also support independent candidates or the candidates of those political alliances whose programs contain must ecological elements.

The Peasant Youth Alliance was established in May last year, at the same time as the Slovene Peasant Alliance. The young peasants have until now helped most with starting off the Peasant Alliance and have begun their own activities only in the past few weeks. They intend to work for the realization of their program goals in the Assembly, and they reckon with the help of the delegates of the Socialist Youth Federation and of the Slovene Peasant Alliance, but if the election law permits it, they will also run their own candidates.

The Socialist Youth Federation of Slovenia is in fact an organization undergoing a transformation. Of all the "old" alliances it may change the most and may even fall apart. It certainly will no longer be a mass sociopolitical and educational organization of young people, as its present statute says. Its congress in November will decide what it will be.

The congress will also decide on the election strategy for the next year. Andrej Verlic, secretary of the Republican Conference, says that they will not run exclusively their own candidates. They intend to send to the election contest everybody who is prepared to cooperate in the elections with their election program and possesses prestige, knowledge....

"What is needed is a change in the opportunities for work in society, a change in the political system," Andrej Verlic says. Until then the various groups joined in the Youth Federation should work together. And after that... "We will part in the same way we have come together." One part of the organization that is political now should be transformed into a party, the social organizations within the Youth Federation should form a federation of alliances, and there should be organizations and spheres of civilian society, and vocational organizations.

Organizational Structure and Membership

The Democrats have now developed their organizational structure chiefly at the republican level, while units at a lower level are still being formed. The highest organ of the Slovene Democratic Alliance is its congress. Between one congress and another, the highest organ is the Council of the Slovene Democratic Alliance. The Executive Committee is its executive organ.

At present, the Slovene Democratic Alliance has nine branches in the Slovene regions, and in addition a university committee in Ljubljana. Dr Dimitrij Rupel is president of the Executive Committee; he is employed as a professor at the Faculty of Sociology, Political Sciences, and Journalism in Ljubljana. France Bucar is president of the Council of the Slovene Democratic Alliance.

The Slovene Democratic Alliance is financed solely with membership fees and voluntary contributions. A half-yearly membership fee for employed people amounts to 30,000 dinars, with a reduction for students and pensioners. The alliance has about 2,000 members.

The highest organ of the Slovene Peasant Alliance is the annual meeting, to which all the branches send their delegates. The alliance also has a managing committee which elects an executive committee. The branches continue to be set up. There are about 80, and they cover various areas, most frequently communes, sometimes whole regions, and occasionally individual places.

Ivan Oman, peasant, is president of the Managing Committee of the Slovene Peasant Alliance. The alliance is financed with membership fees and voluntary contributions. The annual fee equals the purchasing price of 25 liters of milk. There are 20,000 members.

The Christian Social Movement does not strive to be a party. It sees the only actual possibility for activities in its present form, because real parliamentary political life is not yet possible at present. In the opinion of the movement, we lack both citizens' maturity and appropriate legislation, and the political scene is also not yet open to anything of the sort. It is also a question whether a rapid change of the political system would help toward resolving the problems. A constructive and possible resolution is indicated only through a gradual change, the movement says.

Some members of the movement are not of the same opinion, and therefore two currents have appeared in the executive committee: one persists on being a movement, and the other advocates classical politization. It may happen that the latter will leave the movement before the spring elections and join other alliances, while the core in the Society 2000, which originally formed the Slovene Christian Social Movement, will stay as a movement.

The organs of the movement are a program council and an executive committee, but they are not interested in a numerous membership, and therefore they have not counted their members. The Slovene Christian Social Movement is being maintained with the membership fees of the Society 2000, which amount to 1 percent of net personal income of each member. President of the Slovene Christian Social Movement is Peter Kovacic Persin, Slavicist, employed with Mladinska Knjiga.

The republicans are something special as far as their organization is concerned. They have no membership fee and no membership cards. Any citizen of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia may join their alliance simply by showing interest in its program and activities.

The alliance has one single organ, its leadership, composed of six members. Its president is Peter Humar, student at the Faculty for Sociology, Political Sciences, and Journalism. No elections or change of leadership is foreseen for the time being.

The alliance has no source of income, but it expects above all sponsorship funds from enterprises and a share from the budget appropriate to the number of seats which it will win at the elections to the parliament.

There are about 2,000 members in the Social Democratic Alliance of Slovenia, and its president is France Tomsic, an engineer at Litostroj. As many as one third of the members live in Ljubljana and its surrounding area, one third in Stajerska and in the Sava valley, and one third are scattered in Dolenjska, Notranjska, Gorenjska, and Primorska. The members are organized in regional and local organizations.

At the republican level, the alliance has three organs: the Presidency as an executive organ, a council as a consultative body with members distributed according to regions, and an expanded council as the highest body; this is a kind of a conference, composed of the members of the council, the Presidium, the control committee, and one member from each of the regional organizations.

The alliance is financed with members' contributions which amount to one percent of the net personal income of a member, reduced for pensioners and students, and with voluntary contributions.

The Greens are organized as a political and social movement; if legislation permits, they will most probably become a party. Members have been recruited only recently, and they will be joined in regional and local committees. The organs of the Greens are an assembly as the supreme body, an executive committee which is the executive political body guiding and coordinating the work of the Greens from one assembly to another, a program council, and a collegium of representatives of ecological groups and other ecological initiatives.

They will support themselves by membership fees amounting to one percent of the net personal income of each member, and by voluntary contributions. The president of the Greens is Dr Dusan Plut, geographer, lecturer at the Faculty of Philosophy in Ljubljana.

The Peasant Youth Alliance has no membership register. At present it has seven branches, and it is preparing to set up new branches in agricultural schools and communes. The members of the Slovene Peasant Youth Alliance are mostly members of the Slovene Peasant Alliance at the same time, but the two alliances are two quite separate organizations. Office expenses are covered by the Republican Conference of the Socialist Youth Federation of Slovenia, and the alliance has no other sources of income at present.

The Socialist Youth Federation of Slovenia, as an "old" organization, possesses a ramified cell structure following the party example, but in addition it also has some organizational forms in the new political spirit: working groups, movements.

It is not known how many members the Youth Federation has, because only basic organizations keep members' registers. In view of the figures on the Slovene population aged 14 to 27, the membership is assessed at 360,000. The president of the Republican Conference of the Slovene Socialist Youth Federation is Joze Skolc, a graduate in political science. The Youth Federation is financed by the budget.

The League of Communists of Slovenia

The League of Communists [LC] of Slovenia is, apart from the Youth Federation, the only sociopolitical organization that has finally been preparing a substantial program of its activities that is also as specific as possible. This means that it is engaging in a battle for its members and possibly, its voters. The LC is officially preparing its program for the congress and it will replace the resolutions adopted previously. The full text of the program will be prepared in a few days and it will contain several blocks of contents, such as the political system, the economy, the social and demographic policy, ecology, and so forth. The several blocks are prepared by experts from the several fields, especially young people. It is an unusual practice to date that the party has invited noncommunists and former Communists to participate in the drafting, for its criterion in selecting the experts was not formal LC membership but creativity, a penetrating mind, and professionalism. Former Communists responded to the invitation to participate in surprisingly large numbers. Considering that this is probably the party election program, one will strive to make it attractive to nonparty members, too.

It all seems that the organizational structure of the party will also change, and thus the manner of members' activities, which can be concluded on the basis of the renewal document. Democratic centralism should be replaced by democratic dialogue, and the minorities should have the right to push their views, which would break the monolithic unity of the party; the members should cooperate in specific projects (project groups), and the idea appears that the Central Committee members should be elected directly and that the congress should elect the entire leadership and not just the Central Committee members. The question then appears whether such an LC of Slovenia could work within the LC of Yugoslavia, where such ideas are considered heretical. The prevailing position of the Slovene Party is that under the renewal, the LC of Yugoslavia will no longer be able to operate as a monolithic organization, and that it will be possible to discuss unity only as regards the strategic goals, which each of the republics

will have to advocate. The LC of Yugoslavia should thus increasingly become a league of leagues, which means that it will have to accept the principle of federalization.

The LC of Slovenia is, so to speak, convinced that democratic centralism in the Yugoslav Party will not be maintained, and it plans its activities accordingly. Nevertheless, if this were to happen, it is clear that the several parts of the LC will not be able to realize their demands. An enforced unity would require repression, which ultimately, as Peter Bekes predicts, could lead to the organization falling apart. What would the LC of Slovenia do in case of an enforced unity? Peter Bekes says that the LC of Slovenia would have only two alternatives in such a case: either to become a peripheral sect or to leave an organization that would not consider the positions of the LC of Slovenia members.

A federalization of the party is not merely a rhetorical project of the LC of Slovenia, for the matter will be first discussed at the republican congress and after that at the federal LC congress.

The LC of Slovenia has just over 100,000 members, who are mostly concentrated in Ljubljana and the surrounding region: there are almost 30,000 of them there. Recently there have been more members leaving the LC than new members joining. The LC is financed exclusively with its membership fees, the amount depending on the personal income of each member. The highest proportion—three percent—is paid by those who receive about 5 million dinars a month or more.

The Association for Yugoslav Democratic Initiative

The Association for Yugoslav Democratic Initiative had its founding meeting in Zagreb this February. Its aim is political and cultural activities for the democratic set up and integration of Yugoslavia. The Slovene branch of the association was established in March of this year.

The association has assumed predominantly political aims. It strives for Yugoslavia to be set up as a democratic and federal community, as a community of citizens and the federal units; it strives for a constitutional guarantee of the role of the citizen, for a political organization of Yugoslavia as a democratic federal community through a Yugoslav parliament, for creating political and cultural conditions for a legally guaranteed pluralism of political views, and for the preservation of the legal assurance according to which all the employed citizens may influence the management of labor in their community.

The association has a council as its highest organ, and an executive committee. The Slovene branch has 45 members. Predominantly academic activities are planned: an initiative for adopting a new Constitution, for amendments to the law on associations of citizens, the criminal code, and so forth; organization of public forums, and of conferences of experts. The association publishes its own newspaper, REPUBLIKA.

POLITIKA Views Slovene Democratic Alliance

AU2806195789 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 26 Jun 89 p 9

[Stevan Petrovic commentary: "Condemned for Espionage, Elected as Officials"]

[Text] Maribor, 25 Jun—The founding congress of the Slovene Democratic Alliance [SDA], which was held yesterday in Maribor, would not have attracted the attention of the wider public had things not occurred at this meeting which one can simply not close ones eyes to. First of all, Janez Jansa, who attended the congress from the start, having arrived directly from the prison where he is serving his sentence, was elected vice president of the Executive Committee of the SDA. He presented at this meeting, on behalf of his party, a vision of military strategy. Jansa presented the stand that so-called parallel armies should be set up in Yugoslavia, alongside the regular Yugoslav People's Army, which would be made up of the present territorial defense units. This principle would also apply to the federal units in the country, regardless of whether they would be organized as a federation or a confederation. Jansa's proposal fell on the fertile ground of the Democratic Alliance's meeting and in this spirit Branko Vrazic, vice president of the SDA for the Maribor region, got up to speak and even asked: How far will the situation be tolerated whereby the Yugoslav People's Army in Slovenia has extraterritorial status as regards its installations (barracks, warehouses, and other infrastructure)? According to him, the Slovene Assembly, or as he said, the Slovene people, would have to unconditionally establish control of all these installations. This delegate went even further, demanding that the situation in the area of territorial defense in the republic in which, as he said, almost 50 percent of the employees are Serbs, also be analyzed. In his opinion, this is incompatible with Slovene sovereignty. Vrazic demanded that the party that he belongs to become seriously involved in these problems in its defense strategy outlined by Janez Jansa.

As regards military issues, let us also mention this detail.

Another former professional soldier was elected president of the Supervisory Committee of the SDA. This was the defendant in the Ljubljana trial, Ivan Borstner. Thus, even while serving his sentence, this person has found himself in a responsible leading position in an opposition party which has the pretentions of being the backbone of the whole associated opposition in the free parliamentary elections in this republic in 1990.

We also saw on the rostrum another former member of the Armed Forces, a retired naval commander who is now a member of the Ljubljana committee of the SDA. This is Tone Franter, who advocated the general reconciliation of all Slovenes, regardless of which side they fought on during the revolution. Franter said that a delegation of their committees goes every year to the graveyard in Zale to light candles to all the dead Slovenes, and, as he put it, to water the graves with their tears.

"We had two good Armies during the war, the partisans and the home-guard. They were our Slovenes and it is not right to divide them in death," said Franter.

The proposal echoed throughout the Maribor congress that the League of Communists should be helped to step down from the political scene as soon as possible. It was even advised to change the color of its flag because this is too reminiscent of the flag of the first country of socialism, the USSR. The proposal was also put forward that in order to facilitate the League of Communists' step down from power, the SDA should amnesty it for all the mistakes it has made in leading the country. Some people reacted to this with the claim that such a proposal is stupid as someone cannot be amnestied if he is not condemned first.

Finally, let us just say this: Even though the pluralism of ideas, opinions, and programs was officially advocated, the post of president of the SDA was filled by the only candidate that was put forward by the former leader of this political organization, Dimitrij Rupel. The new leader is Humbert Pozarnik, an ecologist from Ljubljana who did not have an opponent, which is something that was accepted with resignation in Maribor circles because the former head of the Maribor committee, Ales Arih, submitted his irrevocable resignation and left the party [League of Communists] and the organization a day before the congress was held precisely because of such a way of resolving matters. As he said, he only found out about all of the more important decisions such as the one about the important leader of the SDA from the newspapers. So, this is one type of pluralism in Slovene practice which has been so zealously propagated in this republic.

Slovene Farmers Demand Higher Price for Milk

LD2806210289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1614 GMT 28 Jun 89

[Summary] Ljubljana, 28 Jun (TANJUG)—The Slovene farmers' refusal to sell their milk production for 29 June, started this evening. Farmers are demanding a higher purchase price for milk.

Milovic Addresses Croatian Assembly on Economy

LD2806203389 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1606 GMT 28 Jun 89

[Text] Zagreb, June 28 (TANJUG)—The effect of the measures of the government of Yugoslav Premier Ante Markovic on economic trends in Yugoslavia, has yet to be felt more strongly, Premier of the Republic of Croatia Ante Milovic assessed in Zagreb today.

Addressing the republic's Parliament, Milovic assessed that the Federal Government has formed a concept of economic policy and is working at an accelerated pace on rounding off the changes in the economic system. The changes, as he specified, should stabilize economic trends through production growth, investments and exports, and at the same time reducing inflation pressures.

The Croatian Parliament today requested opening the issue of methods for setting aside and investing funds in the Province of Kosovo. It was said that both the underdeveloped and the entire country should benefit from the investments.

Pancevski Congratulates MSZMP's Rezso Nyers

AU2806140289 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 27 Jun 89 p 8

[Text] Milan Pancevski, president of the Central Committee Presidium of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, has sent cordial congratulations to Rezso Nyers, newly elected chairman of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party.

SFRY Reaction to Beijing Events Protested

AU2806160589 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 23 Jun 89 p 8

[Unattributed report: "Why Does Yugoslavia Remain Silent?"]

[Text] The Committee for the Protection of Human Rights of the Serbian Writers Association has asked the BORBA editorial board to publish the following announcement:

The revenge of the gerontocratic clique in China against unarmed students and workers, through the passing down of numerous death sentences after the military intervention, has been energetically condemned by the progressive world public. We join this condemnation while resolutely protesting that Yugoslav officials have meekly, insincerely, and ambiguously assessed the dramatic events in Beijing.

Even though several thousand innocent people were killed, in the announcement of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, for example, an extremely measured tone was used to express concern that "the democratic processes and economic and political reforms that had been initiated by the CPC would be halted," and the idea was even mooted on television that the Army fired at the students because they were badly paid!

On this occasion, we are pointing out that Yugoslav diplomatic bureaucrats are continuing to cynically ignore the serious demands of its own Yugoslav public. At the conference on human rights in Paris the Yugoslav delegation, as announced, will not raise the question of the difficult situation of Yugoslav minorities (Serbs, Montenegrins, Macedonians) in Romania, Albania, and other neighboring states, leaving this for the "bilateral agenda." Such tactics have so far been proved to be absolutely unproductive and have always been to the detriment of the Yugoslav minorities in neighboring countries.

The representatives of the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs have also been rejecting the increasingly frequent demands of the public to normalize relations with Israel by using an unconvincing empty phase about "aggressive Israeli policy," thereby doing harm to Yugoslavia not only in Israel, but also throughout the whole world.

Therefore, we are demanding that Yugoslav diplomatic circles begin to respect the aspirations and wishes of the wider Yugoslav public and not only those of narrow, bureaucratized, and monopolized alienated circles of power.

(The announcement was signed by the members of the Committee: Borislav Mihajlovic Mihiz; Alek Vukadinovic; Dusan Vukajlovic; Jovica Acin, president; Milivoje Glisic; Nikola Milosevic; Rajka Radivojac; Milutin Petrovic; Slobodanka Pekovic; and Nada Popovic Perisic).

Spokesman Comments on China, Bulgarian Turks

AU2906124889 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 23 Jun 89 p 8

[G. Tomljenovic report: "Events in China Are Followed Carefully"]

[Excerpts] "Yugoslavia reacts to all major events in the world in its own way." This was stated by the official spokesman of the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs in answering the question as to whether Yugoslavia had reacted to the most recent events in China and to the trials and execution of demonstrators.

"We are aware of the sensitivity," Ivo Vajgl continued, "with which our public is following events in China, not only in terms of public statements and declarations issued by official state and party organs, but also those issued by individuals. In this connection, I would like to recall the discussion on human rights in the SFRY Assembly and the speech by Milivoje Maksic, deputy foreign secretary for foreign affairs, who called for abolishing the death sentence. The speech contained a thought concerning an all-round improvement in human rights that is present in every part of our country. This applies to any country in the world."

Answering the question whether the European Parliament delegation has issued a report following its visit to Kosovo, Ivo Vajgl told journalists that so far the president of the European Parliament has not been presented with a report and that this is only a matter of the procedure and time.

A DELO journalist was interested in some comments made by Aleksandar Prlja, Serbian republican secretary for foreign affairs, at a recent press conference. At that press conference Prlja said that a part of the blame for the misunderstanding that arose during the European Parliament delegation's visit lies in Strasbourg's poor choice of the members of the delegation. The DELO journalist also wanted the spokesman to comment on the observation that Serbia is increasingly showing the ambition to involve itself in the formulation of Yugoslavia's foreign policy, stating at the same time that the stress of Prlja's comments on the participation of the republics in the formulation of foreign policy was positive.

Unified Diplomacy

"I am not authorized to comment on anybody's statements, but in principle, Yugoslavia respects all foreign delegations and their members regardless of whether we differ in our views. After all, the purpose of this visit was to exchange views," the foreign office spokesman said, and then he replied to the other part of the question: "As regards the topics that are of particular interest to our republics and provinces, our practice is to find a way in which they can publicly express their stands and interests and thus contribute to our foreign policy. Of course, we must understand the representatives of those peoples, groups of which live as minorities in other countries, and it is therefore natural that such questions are given special importance at news conferences.

"However, federal diplomats are approached for help in this respect—I am afraid that this is not the most appropriate term to use because there are not such things as federal or some other kinds of diplomats. Foreign policy is in the federation's sphere of competence; we have a unified Yugoslav diplomatic core which has intensively been working since the end of the war to help all Yugoslav peoples who live as minorities in other countries. The results are different, but not because of a different degree of our involvement, but because of different conditions under which our minorities live."

Recently it was announced that Salman Rushdie's "Satanic Verses" will be published in Yugoslavia. One of the questions asked was what reaction does the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs expect from the Muslim community in Yugoslavia, and will this affect our relations with Muslim countries, and with Iran in particular.

The answer was that publishing activities in our country are the subject of the laws on publishing and that these laws are in the sphere of competence of publishers and

their founders rather than the state administration. The faithful who think that their rights and feelings have been hurt have means for expressing their protest in our country.

Problem of Bulgarian Turks

Commenting on the recent statement of the leader of the Turkish community in Cyrus, Denktas, who offered to accommodate 30,000 Bulgarian Turks in Cyprus, Ivo Vajgl said: "The resolutions of the Security Council, the UN General Assembly, and the meetings of nonaligned countries demand from all sides not to intensify in any way the situation on the island. They particularly want the demographic composition of the island to remain unchanged. Any new settlements in Varosa, a part of Famagusta which was evacuated in 1974, would be an irrational act, a violation of the status quo, an act that would be in contradiction with the above-mentioned obligations, and a blow to the negotiations currently conducted between Vasiliou and Denktas. After all, Turkish Premier Ozal said that Turkey is big enough to accept its fellow nationals who are leaving Bulgaria.

As regards the Bulgarian Turks who come to Yugoslavia, Ivo Vajgl said that our country is only concerned with, in cooperation with the Turkish Embassy in Belgrade, enabling Bulgarian Turks to go where they want. Seen from the point of view of international law and humanity, this is where our mission ends. [passage omitted]

The Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs has denied the reports recently carried in some of our newspapers that during his visit to Albania, Faruq Qaddumi, head of the PLO political department, allegedly said that "because of its principled policies, Albania will be the model for the new Palestinian state." To be more precise, the denial came from the official representative of the embassy of the State of Palestine in Belgrade. [passage omitted]

Dates, Agenda Topics Planned for July Plenums

AU2906132489 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 28 Jun 89 p 1

[I.T. report: "Hot Summer for Hot Topics"]

[Text] We have unofficially learned that, after a fairly long lull, the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] will hold two plenums in July.

Although the decision concerning the holding of these plenums has not been made yet, the 24th plenum is planned for 11 July but it is very likely that it may be postponed for few days for technical reasons. This plenum should discuss a report on the work of the LCY Central Committee between two congresses and would, therefore, constitute an integral part of pre-congressional activities. Some cadre issues should also be on the agenda.

The 25th plenum of the Central Committee is planned for 28 July and should tackle the currently most topical issue and one of our most serious problems, interethnic relations. Whether this topic will be on the agenda of the federal party leadership, will depend on whether the LCY Central Committee Presidium accepts at its session scheduled for tomorrow the demand of the Bosnian League of Communists, the LCY Central Committee Commission for Interethnic Relations, and a section of the public to postpone this in many ways potentially explosive discussion.

The view is that relations between some republican leaderships are so aggravated—as is the entire situation concerning political, economic, and interethnic issues—that convening a plenum under present circumstances could only be an additional generator of a wider clash in the Yugoslav political arena. It is being said that the repeat of the last "Kosovo plenum" could lead to the complete deterioration of the already unbearable situation in the country.

However, these reasons do not have to be the decisive reasons especially because the republican and provincial organizations have not—at least so far—definitely said whether they are in favor or against the plenum at this difficult moment.

The surge in increasingly serious political and national divisions and clashes has overshadowed a discussion about another extremely important topic planned for a LCY Central Committee session, the implementation of the economic reform. Considering the present state of affairs, the chances that this discussion will be held before the end of September are slim.

All in all, the members of the LCY Central Committee, its Presidium, and new president Milan Pancevski are facing new considerable trials.

Commentary on 'Strategic Conflict' Within Party

AU2806074689 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 25 Jun 89 p 1

[Ivan Torov commentary: "From a Way Out to No Way Out"]

[Text] If by some chance the next extraordinary regular congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] were held already next month, instead in December, it is almost certain that we would witness the final split among the Yugoslav Communists.

This gloomy supposition can be corroborated unreservedly by the present climate in society which does not allow any sober and serious talk and dialogue. That climate has been burdened by intolerance, by excessively politicized and in many aspects nationalistically-hued passions, by the lack of sensible reasoning, by the struggle for power dragging entire peoples into the staged conflict of the political leaderships.... Political initiative

has been taken over completely by republican top political leaders whose main preoccupation now is to establish their firm and exclusive positions as much as possible and win over more allies for themselves.

However we may desire that, the fact that there are not even a full 6 months to go until the December congress is no guarantee that we shall achieve political peace and a relatively principled agreement between "belligerent" leaderships until then. This is so for the simple reason that conceptual differences in viewing and understanding the positions of the party, socialism, and democracy in general are so deep and unbridgeable that they cannot even be reduced without major breakages, conflicts, and ultimatums for changes, but not only cadre changes.

Everything is there: the well-disguised support for a return to the positions of a one-party monolithic system which, by the way—albeit more in the form of one-national mobilization—functions only too "well" in some republics, and the intention to have the congress definitely legalize through the statute the confederalist setup of the hitherto only political organization in our country. There are, though, some other variants, some compromises, that is, but the influence of their supporters is irrelevant compared with the two important concepts.

It is only now clear how much unpreparedness, voluntarism, and improvisation, how many provoked and forced moves were involved in the last year's "unanimous orientation" in favor of the LCY transformation. Many essential questions and dilemmas were not answered then and are not answered now.

For example, what kind of model of organization is needed to make the political system become an incentive for market and democratic reform of society and is the League of Communists [LC] the only one to blame for the crisis, or is the truth nearer to the warning that the LC has been (mis)used by its top leaders? Moreover, can the LC maintain its present role without playing, as it has done several times so far, a cunning double game of the creator of the social reform and a factor obstructing it? What do nonparty pluralism and multiparty pluralism mean in our conditions? In case the first or the second variant are agreed upon in the future, can one talk about the LCY being a vanguard at all, if it is exposed to the competition of ideas, solutions, and the ability to realize them, and if we agree that vanguardism—when it is interpreted as a political stick over the heads of the party members and the people—has done much harm?

In a real forest of ideologically-hued attempts to answer this one or some similar dilemmas, not a single one of those attempts has any chance of becoming generally accepted or valid. An answer is not offered even by the "most authorized" side—the document prepared for the pre-congress debate on the party transformation. Because, this document with its many dilemmas, alternatives, ambiguous solutions, and some hints only confirms that it is a result of ordinary compromises, wanderings, and the lack of feeling for new trends in the democratic world and a more complete concept of Yugoslavia's future political image.

There has been no answer from closed sessions of the Committee for the Preparation of the 14th LCY Congress either. As far as one could see from TANJUG reports, the committee is still at the stage of registering facts and the situation, and making attempts to establish what the next congress should in fact deal with—to include locating and drafting the concept of a type of political deregulation in our country which is the only orientation appropriate for the market and democratic, or—and this seems to be the case—repeating well-known phrases and sterile cliches about "excessive or too little criticism or self-criticism," "endangered vanguardism," about "whether the LC should handle over the power if it does not want it for itself and to whom will it handle it over," about "the quantity and direction of responsibility for the crisis and political chaos...."

The pat position in which the party leadership has been for a long time already is best illustrated by a detail at the latest session of the committee. The warning issued in the introductory speech that we should discuss the dilemma of whether we have been entering a strategic conflict within the LCY was not met with any response in the debate that followed: The dire need to face the truth was ignored. This was probably done because of calculations, expectations and bureaucratic self-deception that only congress should deal with this strategic conflict.

To what extent will the highest Communists' meeting be able to do that if it is prepared according to the old inertia, in the way it was done for the 13th and earlier congresses? To a small extent or perhaps not at all, but it will—if the strategic battle for the future of the country and the party is not waged everyday until the congress—contribute much to turning the Yugoslav political and living space into an arena of further primitive settling of accounts and therefore of definite separation.

The congress and the orientation toward reform will at best be reduced to maintaining or changing relations of forces within the LCY, establishing an illusory or imaginative unity, cadre changes, replacement of some leaderships, the question of democratic centralism....

Amid all these verbal and bellicose calls advocating reform, the one thing that will be missed will be a complete and real reform of society and the party.

Commission Rejects Appeals of Mikulic, Others

AU2906094589 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 23 Jun 89 p 3

[TANJUG report: "Appeals of Former Officials Rejected"]

[Text] Belgrade, 22 Jun—The Administrative Commission of the SFRY Assembly today rejected the appeals of

former officials Branko Mikulic, Petar Vajovic, and Dobroslav Culafic and of a SFRY Assembly delegate, Nikola Filipovic, and confirmed its earlier ruling according to which they would receive full salaries, relative to the posts they held, for the period 1 April to 30 June of this year.

The appeals of the former president of the Federal Executive Council, two federal secretaries, and one "federal" delegate refer to the time by which they should, by not being allocated any posts while waiting for retirement, receive full personal incomes. They invoked the Law on the Work and Rights of the SFRY Assembly Delegates and Federal Officials according to which at the end of their term of office they are, by expecting new posts or jobs, entitled to receive full personal income for up to 1 year. This period can be extended to 1 and ½ years if in the last 6 months the individuals concerned have fulfilled the conditions for retirement.

However, the law also states that these rights may cease to be valid even earlier if the conditions for retirement had already been met. It is in fact this provision that formed the basis of the Administrative Commission's decision to reject these almost identical appeals based on the fact that by not having reached the age of 65 one of the conditions was not met. The former high officials did not take into account the fact that the period spent in service is sufficient condition for retirement.

The commission's dilemmas, if there were any, were "cleared" by the statement issued by the republican self-managing interest commune for pension and disability insurance (Belgrade branch) at the request of the commission. According to this self-managing interest commune's records, the former officials have met the conditions for retirement, Branko Mikulic on 19 December last year, Nikola Filipovic on 25 November of last year, Dobroslav Culafic on 31 March this year, and Petar Vajovic on 14 April of this year.

The president of the commission, Metodi Zvrcinov, informed the members of this commission that Mikulic and Vajovic had sued the Administrative Commission to the Federal Court and that if the court passes a different judgment, the commission will have to comply with it.